

THE
 Church of England's
 DOCTRINE
 OF
 Non-Resistance,
 JUSTIFIED and VINDICATED,
 as truly *Rational* and *Christian* ;
 AND THE
 Damnable Nature
 OF
 Rebellious Resistance
 REPRESENTED.

By LEWES SHARP, Rector of Morton-Hampstead, in Devon.

Take this for a general Rule, That the immortal Policy of a State cannot admit of any Law of Priviledge whatsoever, but in some particular or other the same is necessarily broken. Sir Walt. Rawleigh.

L O N D O N,
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FOR Subjects to bear Arms against their Kings, Offensive or Defensive, upon any Pretence whatsoever, is at the least to resist the Powers, which are ordained of God : And though they do not invade, but only resist, *St. Paul* tells them, *They shall receive to themselves Damnation* ----- and the same Constitution, and Canon requires all Arch-bishops, Bishops, and all other inferiour Priests and Ministers, that they preach, teach and exhort their People to obey, honor and serve their King ; and that they presume not to speak of His Majesty's Power in any other Way, than in this Canon is expressed. Which Canon the Church ordained and decreed, That every Parson, Vicar, Curate or Preacher, upon some one *Sunday* in every quarter of the Year, at Morning Prayer, shall in the Place where he serves, treatably and audibly read, *Const. & Canon. Eccles. made in 16 Ch. 1. 1640. Can. 1.*

To their most Excellent

MAJESTIES.

Dread Sovereigns,

Although the greatest Princes, with their dependant Governments and Interests, are exposed to change, yet Truth is not: This stands on such a firm Basis, that, that which was once Truth, whether in Rome, Geneva or England, is still so, and will be so for ever. And therefore, how propitious and indulgent soever, the publick Revolution of Affairs may prove to the corrupt Lusts and Interests of Men seditiously minded, the Truth will always be their Adversary, and bid defiance to them: and such is the mighty and irresistible force thereof, that it will eventually conquer and triumph over all their Sophistical reasonings, and enthrone it self in their Judgments and Consciences, for Conversion or Confusion. That Catholick Doctrine, which is asserted and contended for in these Papers, hath been, is, and will be for a Crown of rejoycing to the Church of England, whose Religion being constituted of a steadfast Allegiance to her Princes, as well as a constant Devotion to her God, it cannot be disclaimed and renounced without a plain Apostacy from her Communion, which is matter of abhorrence to all good Christians: and yet such is the boldness, I had almost said, Impudence of some bigotted, pinking Fanaticks, that for many Months together, they have attempted with great diligence to ridicule and expose it, to scorn and contempt: and one of them having mounted and settled himself in the Seat of the Scornful, made it part of his Morning Exercise, to insinuate amongst other seditious Things, That the Preaching thereof, is one of those national Sins we are to repent of, in expectation of national Mercies, because a Doctrine designed to enslave the Nation; Slavery with them, being an equivalent to a restraint from the Liberty of an armed Resistance of their Prince, when they shall judge it necessary, and themselves well prepared for it. Indeed, another of them for part of his Morning Exercise, assumes the Confidence, to publish to the World, That they are misrepresented, when reported as Enemies to Monarchy, because they have given assurance by Oath of their Allegiance to it; but if the one be fit to be an Interpreter to the other (as no doubt but he is, they being of the same Confederacy, and bound up in the same bundle together) their Allegiance is only during pleasure, which they will term, so long as your Majesties Behaviours and Administrations are such as they should be, that is, such as they shall well like and approve of: The naked Truth is this, their Friendship and Fidelity to your Majesties Persons and Governments is only founded on what they apprehend to be beneficence to their private Opinions, and consequent Affections and Interests; for the Proof of which their Departments under the late Administrations of publick Affairs, is an evidence even to a Demonstration; their factious Designs and Practices being the sole Standards and Measures of what they repute good and evil, all publick Administrations are Objects of their election or reprobation, agreeably to that subserviency or contrariety they bear to them: So that, if you serve them, they will serve you: but if you oppose and suppress them, they will oppose and suppress you, if they can. Wherefore, if your Majesties will be secured from their rebellious Insurrections against your Government, you must let them do always that which is right in their own eyes, and never displease them. Abrogate the Act of Uniformity and the Tests, Renounce Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastical, and extirpate Prelacy as well as Popery (the continuance of all which with them are national Sins) raise up and set on foot the solemn League and Covenant, the Blame of it, and bring the Episcopal Clergy to such a Temper, that they may pass for

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Men tollerable in the Church, and if no body anger them, they will be very quiet. But Your Majesties must remember, that they are Abhorrors of the Doctrine of Non-Resistance as well as of the Act of Uniformity, the Sacramental Test, Episcopacy, Liturgy and Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Causes; and therefore must keep your selves in the posture of Gladiators; for if the publick Administrations chance to be oppressive in their Apprehensions and Judgments to their natural, civil or spiritual Rights and Priviledges, with which they are more richly stored than their Neighbours, they will be your Subjects no longer than they are strong enough to be your Masters, and the Deposition of your Majesties in order to the Exaltation of their own Discipline, which they will call the Scepter of Jesus Christ, shall be reputed a Mercy as considerable as a Fifth of November's Deliverance. It can be no matter of wonder to your Majesties, that those Men, who will still have this lain down for a Principle, That in all the Disputes between Power and Liberty, Power must be proved, but Liberty proves it self; the one being founded only on positive Law, and the other upon the Law of Nature; that they caution your Subjects against examining the Matter of Regal Power by the Scriptures; for if we are resolved to stick to them as the Rules of our belief and practice in this case, we shall find the Power of Kings founded on another Bottom and Constitution, than that these Men have invented and commended to the World; for the Scriptures do assure us, That not only those who reigned over God's own peculiar People did Reign immediately from and by him. Acts 7. 35. Numb. 27. 16, 18. Judg. 2. 16. 1 Sam. 10. 1. Prov. 8. 15. but also that all other Kings are as truly and certainly of his Ordination and Constitution as they were, and owe their Authority and Kingdoms immediately to him, and not to their Subjects, Jer. 27. 5, 6, 7. Isa. 45. 1, 2, 3, 4. Dan. 2. 21. and 5. 26, 28. Rom. 13. 1. and therefore are called the Ministers of God, Rom. 13. 4. but never the Ministers of the People; and God himself hath called them Gods, Psal. 82. 6. to ascertain us, that their Persons are Sacred to him, and their Authority of his immediate Delegation, and not derived from any voluntary Pacton or positive Constitution, made and ratified betwixt them and their Subjects, which is forfeitable and revocable according to the expresse or tacite Tenor of the Fundamental Contract, as these Men sometimes phrase it. And as the first Dominion and Government of Divine Ordination was Monarchical, so we have no reason to think, that it was God's intention, that, that Species or Form of Government should be altered, and another introduced, because we have no instance of any other Government, either of his immediate Ordination or Approbation; and so far as I am instructed in divine Revelations, we have no Rule for the Establishting of any other Form of Government, nor direct precept to submit to any other as of his prescribing: and when Men prefer their own Inventions before divine Institutions, they bring forth as Aaron did, a Calf instead of a God: The Church of England having determined, That, the most high and sacred Order of Kings is of divine Right, being the Ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime Laws of Nature, and clearly established by expresse Texts both of the Old and New Testaments, those pretended Sons of the Church need good foreheads, who presume to affirm them to be their Peoples Creatures, and to owe their Authority and Power solely to them, and ought to exercise no more than they have by their Concession. I hope God hath such Grace and Mercy in store for this Church and Kingdom, that he will raise up Men of greater Abilities, and better Opportunities than can be pretended unto by my self, to defend the crowned Heads thereof from such Assailants: but if these ensuing Discourses in any measure prove a Counterminie to their designments, and contribute any degree of assistance towards the Security of the publick Government, I shall ascribe all the Honour thereof unto God, and Your Majesties will have no reason to discountenance the Honest, though Weak, Endeavours of

Your Majesties most Loyal Subject,
LEWES SHARP.

T H E

Church of England's DOCTRINE

O F

Non-Resistance,

JUSTIFIED and VINDICATED, &c.

R O M. 13. 2.—

And they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

TH E grand Design of Religion is the Resignation of our selves to God, that it may be well with us, both in this world and that which is to come ; and therefore, the Appearance of the blessed Jesus is represented as bringing *Glory to God on high, on Earth Peace, good Will towards Men.* And the *well-being* of Mankind in this World, greatly depending on the Safety and Peace of publick Societies, the Christian Religion hath a special Regard to the Protection and Preservation of them : And, Civil Authority being under God, a most efficacious Instrument thereof, signal care is taken for its security, that it be not weakened or disturbed in its being and exercise, but maintained and observed by all that are subjected thereunto, as my Text with its coherence doth abundantly evidence.

Sect. 1. In the former Verse, the Apostle chargeth it as a Duty incumbent on all Mankind to be subject to the Higher Powers ; *Let every Soul* [every one without exception or reservation] *be subject* [yield Submission and Obedience] *to the Higher Powers* [the lawful Possessors and Administrators of Supreme Authority ;] for, though the Word [Powers] be in the Abstract, yet we are to understand them concretely, as signifying the Persons which exercise Authority. And 'tis ordinary in Scripture by a Metonymical Phrase to put the Abstract for the Concrete, the Adjunct for the Subject, which was not here unadvisedly used, because the Design of the Apostle is to ascertain us, that every Person under Government of what Rank or Order soever he be, is obliged to yield Subjection to his legally Supreme Governour, howsoever he be qualified for his Religion or moral Department.

Sect. 2. And the Reason he gives doth equally effect all Subjects, and equally relate to all that are advanced to Supreme Authority ; *for there is no Power but of God, and the Powers that be are ordained of God* ; that is, the Original of all Authority is from God, and consequently, whosoever partakes of it is to be acknowledged as God's Commissioner to rule and govern all that are placed in a State of Subjection to him ; and, although we are to be subject and obedient to the Officer for his Office sake, yet our Subjection and Obedience immediately refers to the Officer himself, because we are ruled and governed by the Officer, [*i. e.* by a Man invested with, and exercising Authority over us] and not simply by an Office, which abstractively considered, is utterly ineffective to all the Purposes of Government, as 'tis not the Kingship which makes and executes Laws, but the King : 'tis not the Portrieveship, or the Constableness, *viz.* the bare Office in either respect, but the Portrieve and the Constable, which suppress Disorder, and administer Justice in any case.

Sect. 3. When God therefore Commands *every Soul to be subject to the Higher Powers*, he Commands every soul to be subject to that Person, or Persons, who legally possess and actually exercise by themselves, or substitutes, the Supreme governing Power, or else in effect he Commands nothing at all ; because the Power abstracted from the Person cannot rule us, nor consequently, be a Terror to evil Works, or a Praise to good Works : 'tis not simply the Office but the Man in office, which is *the Minister of God to us for good, and which beareth not the Sword in vain, but revengeth evil doing.* All which considered, when the Apostle saith in the former part of the Verse, to which the Text belongs ; *Whoever therefore resisteth the Powers resisteth the Ordinance of God* ; his meaning must needs be, *That whosoever resisteth that Person or Persons who have the Right to Rule and Govern, and exercise Dominion and Authority over him, he resisteth the Commission and Authority of God himself* ; because the Authority of the Magistrate is an Authority derived from God himself. He therefore, who affronts and opposeth the Magistrate who is God's Vicegerent affronts and opposeth God himself ; and then we cannot think it strange, that, they which thus resist should receive to themselves damnation. Here are Three Things which need a little Explication.

1. What the Apostle intends by *Resistance* ? or *they that resist* ?
2. What he intends by *Damnation* ?
3. What he intends by *Receiving to themselves* the damnation spoken of ?

Sect. 4. 1. What the Apostle means by *Resistance* ? or *they that resist* ? 'tis very manifest that *Resistance* is directly opposed to *Subjection*, and includes all practicing from a Spirit of *Averseness, Contradiction and Opposition*; and consequently so far as we refuse to yield subjection to the Authority of the Higher Powers we resist them. Now Subjection is refused two ways, either by disobedience and acting contrary to the Laws and Edicts of the Higher Powers; or else by using Strength and making a violent Opposition against them with armed Force.

Sect. 5. 1. We may resist and oppose our selves to the Higher Powers by disobedience and counteracting the Laws and Edicts thereof, when we unwarrantably refuse Obedience to the Laws of the Higher Powers, we break out of the Rank of Subjects, and resist the Higher Powers; for they that will not be commanded by the Higher Powers, are not subject to them ; and when this is circumstanced with Stubborns, the Disobedience is resolute and unreclaimable, 'tis not only Contempt, but Defiance to Authority, and they which resist the proper Effect of the Supreme Authority, its Laws and Edicts, resist the Supreme Authority it self : And, therefore they sin hainously against God who are not willingly obedient to the lawful Commands of the Higher Powers, but counteract them in a Deportment contrary to them, because herein they violate and disannul the Commission of God himself : The Higher Powers have a Right granted to them from God himself, to enact and impose Laws upon us ; if we therefore refuse Obedience to their Laws, we usurp a Superior

Superior Authority to that of God himself, for we take upon us to Cancel God's Grant to them, and herein are Fighters against God as well as Resisters of the Powers which are of God, a Matter well deserving serious consideration.

Sect. 6. 2. We may resist and oppose our selves to the Higher Powers, by force and violence: when Subjects contend with Higher Powers by force; either defend themselves against them with armed Power, or else seek to depose them, or to compel them to do (though it be what they apprehend) they ought to do, this being a kind of judiciary act, and which carries a vindicative Power with it, 'tis the most aggravated Resistance that can be made against the Higher Powers, and the Resistance here especially condemned by the Apostle in my Text, and that against which I shall chiefly direct my Discourse.

Sect. 7. 2. What the Apostle designs by *Damnation*? 'tis evident that by [*Damnation*] the Apostle intends some thing Minatory and Penal, but what particular kind of punishment the Word immediately denoteth in this place, is questioned by some learned Men: 'tis certain the Original Word [*Κεῖμα*] sometimes signifieth in the Scriptures a present temporal Punishment from Man, and sometimes a future eternal Punishment from God: For my part, I think with many others, both sorts of Punishments are here intended; because the Apostles Arguments against *Resistance*, are taken from Considerations which look both ways. *Ye must needs be subject* (saith he, v. 5.) *not only for Wrath but also for Conscience sake*; that is, not only for fear of punishment from the Higher Powers, but also lest by offending God, by who's Authority the Higher Powers are set over you, Conscience accuse you, which binds to a Condemnation to eternal Death: 'Tis probable, that the way of Rebellion will bring those that are in it to a Gibbet: but 'tis certain, that without Repentance, 'twill bring them to Hell, if they escape a shameful Death from the Higher Powers on Earth, they shall not escape the Punishment of eternal Death from the God of Heaven: that this is the Intendment of the Apostle seems evident to me: For the Apostle having lain down this as a Fundamental Article of the Christian Faith, *That there is no Power but of God*: And from that Consideration, strictly charged it as an indispensable Obligation upon every Soul to be subject thereunto, which cannot be resisted, without resisting the Ordinance of God himself, he plainly enforceth this Duty with this threatning as the Sanction upon which it was established, *They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation*: Now, as the Threatnings of which the Mosaiical Precepts were established did primarily respect corporeal and temporal Evils, so the Threatnings on which the Christian Precepts are established, do primarily respect spiritual and eternal Evils: And the Apostle elsewhere expressly affirms, *That where Vengeance shall be taken on such as obey not the Gospel, they shall be punished with everlasting Destruction*. 2 Thes. 1. 8, 9. By [*Damnation*] therefore in the Text we are to understand primarily, a Condemnation to eternal Torments in Hell Fire, but not exclusively of a Condemnation to those corporeal and temporal Punishments, to which Rebels are exposed by the Higher Powers.

Sect. 8. 3. The last thing to be expounded is, what 'tis for those that resist [*to receive to themselves*] *Damnation*? the Original Word [*ἀντιποιναί*] is variously translated: sometimes 'tis rendred *acquirunt*, they procure to themselves *Damnation*, this is the great Purchase Rebels make: the Wages they contend and fight for by resisting the Higher Powers, is bring themselves into a State of *Damnation*, and to make Hell sure to themselves: other render it by *accipiant*, they shall receive, as our translation hath it: that is, as Men receive a painful, an intollerable *Burden*; to which punishment is frequently compared, 2 Kings 9. 1. *Isa. 23. 1.* When Subjects resist the Higher Powers, they design to free and ease themselves of conceited Burthens and Grievances, but the final issue and event of their Resistance Submission to an irresistible and insupportable load of Guilt and Misery: and this they

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ceive [to themselves] as their proper Portion and Fruit of their own Doings: for when they are utterly destroyed, they reap nothing but what they have sown; nothing is poured upon them but their own wickedness, *Jer. 14. 16.* and all the World hath cause to say, that they have destroyed themselves, and as *Solomon* speaks, by provoking the Higher Powers to Wrath, they sinn'd against their own Souls, *Prov. 20. 2.* became Executioners to themselves. Having thus expounded the Scope and Intent of my Text, I shall discourse two Things from it, whereof the one is manifestly implied, and the other plainly expressed.

1. That Subjects must not resist the Higher Powers.
2. That they which resist the Higher Powers bring themselves under the Guilt of eternal Damnation.

Seet. 9. 1. That Subjects must not (no Subjects whatsoever may) resist the Higher Powers, let them be the worst that can be. 'Tis past all doubt, That one Subject may resist the unjust force of another: and Sovereign Princes and States may likewise resist the unjust Force, Encroachments, or Usurpations of other Sovereign Princes and States, and the Subjects of one Sovereign Prince and State may in some cases resist the Sovereign Powers of another Kingdom and State: but no Subjects of what Quality soever they are, or whatever their Provocations be, may warrantably resist with armed Force the Higher Powers that are over them, whether considered as supreme, or commissioned by them and subordinated to them.

Seet. 10. All the lawful Supreme and Sovereign Powers in the World are God's Officers: and although the Specification of the Government, and the manner of its Administration may be determined and limited, and the Individual Person or Persons, Family or Families who shall be the Subjects Recipients of governing Authority and Power, may be designed and nominated by the Interposition and Consent of the whole Community, over which they preside and rule; yet their Authority and Power is originally and immediately from God alone: 'tis here as in the Case of Marriage; the Authority and Power of the Man over the Woman, is originally and immediately from God; but the determination of the particular Person who shall be this or that Woman's Husband, proceeds from the free Election and Consent of the Woman: and although by a Pre-contract she may limit the Exercise of his Authority and Power respectively to her Estate and Proprieties, yet she cannot bound his Matrimonial Authority and Power over her Person, nor will his abuse hereof be a Forfeiture of it to her. And the Supreme Authority and Power with which all Sovereign Princes and States are invested being originally and immediately from God alone, and not communicated and derived at all from the Community, there can be no forfeiture made by any male-Administration to the Community, be the Contracts respectively to its kind of existence and manner of its exercise what they will; what as not gotten by Vertue is not loseable by Vice, nor can it by any abuse whatever escheat to the Power and Disposall of the Community: they cannot take away that which they did not give: 'twas therefore well said by *Tacitus*, *Principi summum rerum arbitrium dii dederunt; subditis obsequii gloria relicta est.* God hath invested the Prince with Sovereign Power; leaving to Subjects the Glory of Obedience: To the same purpose is that of *Salust*, *impune quid vis facere, hoc est regem esse.* He that will do a thing without fear of Punishment, he acts the part of a King. For as *Mark Anthony* urged in *Herod's* case, If he be accountable for what he hath done as a King, he could not be a King: And the Reason is, because the Supreme Power is only under God, and to be accounted for to him alone. And I shall endeavour agreeably hereunto to prove to you, That the Doctrine of Non-Resistance of Supreme Powers is founded on immutable Grounds of Reason and Religion: And when there is any of the Bond of Obedience to the Higher Powers from the Principles of Reason and

and Religion; from the Necessities of common Equity and Order, and the Interest of Conscience and Christian Duty, there must needs be a very strong Obligation, which is the Case of *Non-Resistance* against the Higher Powers as by Law established among us.

SECT. 11.1. I will endeavour to evince, that the Allowance of Liberty to Subjects to resist the Sovereign Power is against the Principles of Common Reason, and that in divers Particulars.

1. 'Tis against Common Reason, That the Higher Powers should be resisted by armed Force of Inferiours and Subjects, because the Allowance of such a Thing would render all settled Government impracticable, and indeed impossible; and consequently destroy all the Means devisable for Administring Public Justice, securing Private and Public Rights and Properties, and preserving the Peace and Prosperity of all Human Societies. The Primary End of all Government is to procure and preserve the Peace of Human Societies, and where this cannot be sufficiently provided for, the Government is null'd and destroyed which is the Case under consideration. For if it be allowable for Subjects in any case, and upon any pretence whatsoever to resist the Sovereign Powers with armed Force, then it follows, that they have a right to judge in what cases 'tis fit for them to submit, and in what cases 'tis fit and lawful for them to resist; and then the Subjects are the Supreme Judges of the Government and their Governours, which undeniably implies, that the Subjects are bound to Subjection, only so long as they themselves think fit, and consequently may claim and exercise Authority and Judicature over their Governors, and pass Judgment upon them and their Government, whensoever they shall think it needful or requisite so to do. And being to judge for themselves, 'tis very probable they will judge favourably for themselves. And wherever the Supremacy of Judgment resides, there is the Sovereign Authority and Power, wherefore if the Higher Powers may be judged by their Subjects, they are not Supreme, but Subordinate, and Rule meerly precariously, even so long, and no longer than their Superiour Judges will give them leave so to do. And when Men are in effect Subject to no Authority and Power, but that of their own Judgments and Wills, a Foundation is laid for a General and Great Confusion. Where all will be Sovereigns, who shall be the Subjects? Where all are to command, there are none to obey. Let us allow Men Liberty to judge for themselves, when 'tis fit they should be subject to the Higher Powers, and when 'tis not, and they may at Pleasure dissolve any Government in the World. There is therefore no one Law so beneficial to the Subject, as this Fundamental Law of Sovereignty, *That 'tis irresistible and unaccountable for its determinations, and from which there is no appeal.* For though a Society may be Governed by Mutual Consent and Agreement, yet let Sovereign Authority and Power be lodged in one or many Persons, it must be *absolute and uncontroulable*, or else those Differences and Controversies which arise in that Society, can never be decided, and finally determined. And whatever unthinking Men may fancy, the Security of the Public Government from the Resistance of its Subjects, is the best Security of every Mans Liberty, Property and Safety.

SECT. 12. Let the Public Government be once Invaded and Confronted by the Open Resistance and Defiance of its Subjects, and we are unavoidably and immediately in a State of War, and then no Man hath any thing, he can call his own; and all the Administrations of Justice are stopped; and in truth, all Laws lay dead, and are ineffective to the Purposes of Government. Wherefore if we set aside all regard to Duty and Honesty, and do but consider our own interest, quiet and safety, we shall find Submission to the worst Government more for the Ease and Security of the Subject than Rebellion and War. Let any Man of Common Ingenuity and Sense consider, if a State of War be not the most defenceless, and deplorable condition in the World; for in such a Case no Mans Private Interest can be secured against the Injuries and Violences of other Men; and when a Man

hath lost his Proprieties and Safety, what hath he more to lose? And yet this is the Case when Men endeavour to shake off Submission to the Higher Powers, by a Forcible Resistance of them; they pull down all those inclosures by which their own Quiet, Propriety and Safety were defended and protected.

Sect. 13. Let the Men of Politicks, who pretend very highly to a Zeal for the Ease, Liberty, Property and Safety of the Subject, cry themselves up for the *Patriots* of their Country, if they encourage a Resistance of the Supream Powers, and expose Subjects to the Mischiefs of War, and lay them open to the Mercy of a Victorious Army, the result will be Anarchy and Confusion. Were Resistance of Authority never so lawful, 'tis such a Remedy of Public Grievances as never did or will bear its own Charges, and whatever Nation or People used it, paid a Severe Reckoning for it, and lamented their Folly and Rashness. The Miscarriages, Oppressions and Tyrannies of a Single Person, are finite and reach but to particular cases: but the Miseries of War are endless and universal. And whatever the Event be, or whoever wins the Prize contended for, the Common-wealth is sure to be a loser by it; and the Generality never reap any thing from it, but repentance and a dear bought experience of the Insolence of Souldiers, who with drawn Swords rate the Merits of their Services, and are not easily pleased, unless they take whatever they demand. If Princes may, and do abuse their Power, 'tis much more certain, that the Rabble neither can or will use theirs aright.

Sect. 14. 2. 'Tis against Common Reason, That Subjects should be allowed Liberty in any case whatsoever to resist the Sovereign Power; because if Resistance in any case be allowed, it must be allowed in all cases reducible to that case (as hath been already intimated) and the Subjects themselves being the Judges of it, when they are disobliged and discontented, they will presently pretend that case, and the Common People are so easily imposed on, and so partially affected to that which they account their own Interest, that there will be no stop to pretences, but they will be apt to conceive themselves Tyrannically insulted over, and grievously oppressed when no harm at all is done to them, and so disturb and hazard the Government, rather than suffer the smallest Inconveniences. I will give you two remarkable Instances from the Scriptures of discontented popular Men, who from unreasonable and wicked pretences, resisted and disturbed two of the Best Governours in the World.

Sect. 14. 1. The First I shall instance for this is Moses. *He was meek above all the Men that were upon the Face of the Earth*, Numb. 12. 3. free from all sour and surly Passions, and so full of gentleness and clemency, that he gave no just cause of provocation to any Man. And he was a Man of such unstained integrity, that he hath this Character from the Holy Ghost himself, *That he was faithful in all Gods House*, Heb. 3. 2. and he was so fast a Friend to the *Israelites*, that to preserve their Lives and Peace he hazarded his own, *Exo. 2. 12, 13, 14, 15.* He was so highly favoured by God himself, that he chose him to be the *Captain General* over his own People, and his Conduct was seconded with so many Miracles, and such extraordinary Preservations and Deliverances, that he was *as a God to them*, *Exod. 4. 16.* and *Moses* had such glorious Appearances of God to him, and such visible Symbols of his gracious Presence with him, that they could not but be convinced, that he was raised up by God himself to be their Leader and Saviour. Yet when this Excellent Ruler of his People had by Gods own Appointment, Consecrated *Aaron* and his Sons to the Priesthood, and God gave an evident Testimony immediately from Heaven, that the Service of *Aaron* in his Priestly Office was highly acceptable to him, which was with astonishing admiration, acknowledged by all the People of *Israel*, *Lev. 9. 24.* Yet you shall find that *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* pretend, that their Civil and Religious Rights are Invaded, and they themselves insu-

lently tyrannized over. And hereupon, *They gather themselves together against Moses and Aaron and say to them, ye take too much upon you, seeing all the Congregation are holy, every one of them, Numb. 16. 3. q. d. you deal partially, and improprieate that to a few, which of Right belongs to all. And v. 13. they said to Moses, Is it a Small Thing that thou hast brought us up out of a Land flowing with Milk and Honey to Kill us in the Wilderness, except thou make thy self altogether a Ruler over us? q. d. will nothing satisfy thee but Arbitrary Government? And say they, v. 14. Wilt thou put out the Eyes of these People? q. d. dost think, that these People are so dull and inapprehensive, that they do not perceive that thou hast a Design to enslave them to thy imperious Will? And what more unjust and unreasonable Pretences could there be made against the Administration of any Government in the World? Yet you shall find, that this Pleading of the Peoples Rights and Liberties and Priviledges was so taking, that presently Two Hundred and Fifty of the Congregation took part with them, Numb. 16. 2. and shortly after the whole Body of the *Israelites* unanimously espoused the Quarrel, and 'twas one, and all against *Moses and Aaron*, v. 19. and 'tis wonderful to observe, that though God miraculously manifested his indignation and abhorrence against these Rebels and their wicked Pretences, causing the Earth to make it self a Grave to Bury them alive, Numb. 16. 32, 33. and sent down Fire from Heaven to consume the Two Hundred and Fifty Men, who by Offering Incense had Invaded Priests Office, v. 35. Yet notwithstanding all this you shall find, that those bold and confident Speeches of *Corah* and his *Companions* being of a Popular Strain, did so strangely insinuate into the Factious and Licentious Humour of the People, and had such powerful influence upon them, that the Main Body of the People the very next Day fall to murmuring against *Moses and Aaron*, justify the Complaints and Pretences of *Corah* and his *Confederates*, own those Rebels for the People of the Lord, and thought them hardly dealt withal. And though God by his own immediate hand, had destroyed them in their very sight, yet they impudently impute the spilling of their Blood to *Moses and Aaron*, v. 41, 42.*

Sect. 15. Now that which I design to infer from this notable instance are these Two Things,

1. That Men of Seditious and Rebellious Spirits, harden themselves against Convictions from the most Eminent Demonstrations of Divine Justice and Vengeance, are implacable and unreconcilable to the Governing Powers over them; will Calumniate, Affront and Oppose them in Defiance to all the Reason, Religion and Justice in the World. And also,

2. That 'tis an easie matter for Men of discontented and ambitious Spirits to pretend Grievances, Oppressions and Innovations under the most Regular Government in the World; and such Men shall never want Partakers and Followers. And therefore if it be allowable for Subjects to judge when there is a just and warrantable Ground for Insurrections and Rebellions against their Rulers, there shall never be any settled Government upon Earth.

Sect. 16. 2. The other Governour I shall instance is *David*. He was a King of Gods own chusing, and so known to be, 2 *Sam.* 16. 12. He was for his personal qualification, a Man after Gods own Heart (*Acts* 13. 22.) and fulfilled all his Wills. And in his Government over *Israel* 'tis said, that he fed [or ruled] them according to the Integrity of his Heart, and guided them by the Skilfulness of his Hands, *Psal.* 78. 72. He Fought their Battles with Victorious Successes against their Enemies, and managed all Public Affairs to their best Advantage. Yet his Son *Absholom* being an Ambitious Aspiring Prince, taking State upon him, by his Magnificent Attendants and Departments easily obtained the Popular Reputation of a Brave Spirited Man; and by his familiar Compliances and insinuating Discourses and Harangues to the Common People easily endeared himself to them, and soon possessed them with hard thoughts of their King, and a Perswasion, that if his Father *David* were deposed, and he succeeded him

him in the Throne, they should be more tenderly dealt withal, and all their Grievances redressed, 2 Sam. 15. 1, 2, 3, 4. Oh! *That he were a Judge in the Land!* If the Power of Government were in his hand, Public Affairs should be so well Accommodated, that there should not be a Grievance to be complained of. Which plausible Pretence made such deep Impressions on the Minds and Affections of the Giddy Subjects, that almost all the Kingdom of *Israel* conspired with him to make Head against *David*. 'Tis said, so strong and spreading was the Conspiracy, *that the People increased continually with Absalom*, 2 Sam. 15. 12. and a Messenger told *David*, *that the Hearts of the Men of Israel were after Absalom*, v. 13. and *David's* Danger was so Great, that though he were a Man of an undaunted Courage, and in a Cittadel of Great Strength, and well Garrison'd with Valiant and Experienced Souldiers, and had many Loyal and Faithful Subjects about him; yet for his own Preservation and the Good of the City of *Hierusalem*, he and all that were with him fled before *Absalom* and his Conspirators, 2. Sam. 15. 12, 13, 14.

Sect. 17. And although God was manifestly graciously present with *David*, and brought this Rebellious Insurrection to nothing, 2 Sam. 18. and 2 Sam. 19. Yet the Men of *Israel* having been possessed with an Opinion, that 'twas lawful for them to take up Arms against their King, even whilst the Bitter Effects of their former Rebellion, and the Sense of the King's Indulgence and Pardon was fresh in their Minds, upon some hot words betwixt the Men of *Judah*, and the Men of *Israel*, *Sheba* sounds a Trumpet of Rebellion, and every Man of *Israel* went up from *David* and followed after *Sheba* in a New Rebellion, 2 Sam. 20. 12. which suggests to us this Observation, That Rebels are not obliged by the Indulgences, Pardons and Favours of their Princes against whom they have once made Resistance: but those who have been Engaged in a Rebellion against their King, how remarkable soever their overthrow was, and how much soever the Hand of God was against them, are so fatally bewitched with the Charmings of Rebellious Principles and Affections, that they readily comply with an opportunity of involving themselves in a New Rebellion. A Rebellious Disposition is too stubborn to yield to the Victorious Successes of his Prince: Conquest and a Pardon will change the Condition, but not the Disposition of a Rebel. Yea, favours will rather exasperate than extirpate their ungovernable Passions. And from this instance 'tis likewise manifest, That if it be warrantable for Subjects in any case whatsoever to make Resistance against the Higher Powers, the most Innocent and Righteous Government may easily be disturbed and destroyed.

Sect. 18. 3. 'Tis against Common Reason, That the Higher Powers should in any case, and upon any pretence whatsoever be resisted with armed Force, because the *Jus gladij*, the Power of Arms, the Power of making Peace and War doth properly belong to them only. The Apostle tells us, Rom. 13. 4. *that he beareth not the Sword in vain*. Implying, that the Supream Power hath right to the Sword; and consequently the Subject cannot take the Sword without Invading and Usurping the Right and Propriety of the King. That which is proper to the King is inseperable from him, and cannot be communicated to his Subjects. 'Tis a Great Truth which a Learned Man Asserts, *That the Power of the Sword is, Potissima pars Regis, the Chiefest Propriety of the Sovereign Power*. Devest the King of this, and he is rather a Nominal than a Real King. For, whatever Authority he hath, he hath no Power to Defend himself, Protect his Subjects, or to offend his and their Enemies.

Sect. 19. Now if the Power of the Sword be only in the King, it cannot be lawful for his Subjects upon any pretence whatsoever to wrest it from him, and turn the Force of it against him, because 'tis an Usurpation made upon his Propriety, and an assuming to them, that in which they have no right. Who but the King with us is to appoint Martial Officers? *He shall make Captains over Thousands, and Captains over Fifties, and he shall go out before them*

them and Fight their Battles, 1 Sam. 8. 12. No Man or Men but the Supream and Sovereign Power hath Authority to raise Souldiers, Levy War and Fight Battles. Whosoever therefore maketh use of the Sword in a military fort without Authority derived from thence, deserves to *perish by the Sword*, as our Saviour told *Peter* upon that occasion, *Mat. 26. 51.* I pray, who had under the Law the Power of the Trumpet, by which the People were alarmed and assembled for War, but *Moses*; who was the Supream Ruler of the People? And when *Jonathan* by *Sauls* command smote the Garrison of the *Philistines* that was in *Geba*, who blew the Trumpet [that is, caused it to be blown] throughout the Land, to call the People together for a general Rendezvous, but King *Saul*, 1 Sam. 13. 3, 4.

Sect. 20. War being the Highest Act of Vindicative Justice, as it must not be undertaken without a just Cause, and very weighty Reasons, and for very good Ends, and such too as cannot be obtained without it, so neither must it be undertaken and engaged in without good Authority to warrant it. And the Supream Authority which hath Power to make and execute Laws; being the only Authority that can warrant a War, and give Men a Lawful Call to it, there cannot be a Lawful Assembling and Confederacy for any War, without such a Lawful Call; and the King having the only Power of the Sword here with us, as the Laws of all Ages declare to us, he only can call us to engage our selves in a War; and therefore certainly we cannot lawfully resist him upon any pretence whatsoever. In the Statute of the 25th. of *Edw. 3d.* it is Declared without the Allowance of any Pretence whatsoever, *to be Treason for any Man or Men whatsoever to Levy War against our Lord the King, or to be Adherent to his Enemies, giving them any aid or comfort in the Realm or elsewhere.* And in the Statute of the 13th. of *Ch. 2d.* 'tis in General Terms Declared Treason, *to Levy War against the King within the Realm or without.* And to cut off all Pretences from the Grounds or Nature of the War as *Defensive only*, or as engaged in from the Authority of a Parliament, or of the Lords and Commons, we have in two several Statutes this Declaration, *That both or either Houses of Parliament cannot, nor lawfully may raise or Levy any War, offensive or defensive, against the King, his lawful Heirs and Successors.* In which Statutes also the sole Supream Command and Government of the Militia, is Declared *to be by the Fundamental Law of England ever the undoubted Right of the King.* And where could it be better placed for the Subjects Interest, than in their Sovereign Prince and Supream Governour?

Sect. 21. There must be in one or other, either in some single Person or some Community of Men, a Supream and Chief Authority, which hath the Principal and Highest Command of the Strength and Military Force of the Nation, or else the Military Power will be under no command, and consequently, the Subjects will not know whom to obey with respect to War and Peace, nor no Arms regularly used for the Suppression of Intestine Rebels, or the Resistance of Foreign Enemies. And who so fit to possess and execute such a Supremacy of Government as the King, whose Interest as well as Duty obligeth him to preserve the Persons, Estates, Rights and Liberties of his People? And this Authority by our Original Constitution being seated in the King, and by subsequent acts of the Legislative Power Declared to be solely in him, it cannot be lawful in any case to resist him; because he cannot (I say) be resisted by an armed Force, without Invading the Power of the Sword in which we have no Right, and therefore cannot use it against him without the Guilt of Rebellion.

Sect. 22. 4. 'Tis against common Reason that the Higher Powers should in any case, and upon any Pretence whatsoever be resisted, because all Resistance from Subjects against the Higher Powers, is utterly inconsistent with their Relation and Condition; for they that resist are not Subject. 'Tis *contradictio in adjecto*, a meer Sollecism, to affirm, That the Highest Power may lawfully be resisted, because the Highest Power cannot have a Superior

riour, and that which hath no Superiour cannot have a Superiour Power exercised over it. Where ever there is a Supremacy it is inseparable from a Right to impunity, and universally exempts from coercion and correction. Where a King then is not obeyed his Majesty is lost. He hath not a Principality, but an Inferiority in his Country. Resistance is coercive and punitive and implies a Superiority. For he which resists, assaults to controul, counteracts to countermand, opposeth the Will of his Sovereign to impose upon him his own; and consequently starts from the Condition of a Subject, and sets himself up in the Throne of Sovereignty. Where we acknowledge a Sovereign Authority, there we yield Subjection and Obedience; from the one flows the other as an effect from the Cause: but where we resist a Power, we disclaim and renounce the Sovereignty of it, for we resist it that we may not be under but above it. They that resist the King, will not be his Subjects but his Superiours: will not receive Laws from him; but give Laws to him: reject his Rod, and snatch away his Scepter: will not act as Subordinate Instruments, but as Principal Agents in the Administration of the Government.

Sect. 23. But what saith the Prophet? *Shall the Axe boast it self against him that beweth it? Or shall the Saw exalt it self against him that moveth it, Isa. 10. 15?* So 'tis as absurd and unreasonable, that Subjects who are inferiour, and ought to be subservient unto the higher Powers should assume to themselves Power to resist them. They have a Power and fitness to act in their proper Places, in an orderly way of dependency and subserviency to the Sovereign Power: but if they resist the Sovereign Power, they leave their proper rank and station; and will not be where they ought, but where they should not be. And I am sure, God being the God of Order and not of Confusion, cannot approve or allow, that we should Desert our own proper Places, to thrust our selves into anothers. We must abide in our proper Seatings, and not go up higher and take the Place of our Betters. As there is no Power but of God, so there is no Power but is Gods: and the Subordination of Subjects to their Sovereign, being of Divine Ordination, the Subordination is to God himself; and therefore Subjects are not only obliged quietly to abide under the Predominant Force and Strength of their Sovereign, but likewise to make a Voluntary Resignation of themselves, their Understandings, Wills, Powers and Interests to his directive Wisdom and preceptive Will, actively obeying what he justly imposeth, or passively enduring what he inflicts for Disobedience. So that, the Allowance of Liberty to Subjects in any case whatsoever to resist their Sovereign, is a plain contradiction to the Moral Relation of Subjects to their Sovereign; and equally as absurd in the Moral Order of Things, as 'tis in the Natural and Local Order of Things for the Feet to ascend above the Head.

Sect. 24. When therefore some learned Men affirm, that the King is *Major singulis*, greater than any of his Subjects singly considered, but *Minor universis*, less than the whole Body of them collectively considered, unless they understand it respectively to the Safety and Welfare of the Community, to which the King belongs as a Part, and not respectively to the Governing Power thereof, 'tis false and unreasonable. For though the Preservation and Safety of the Community be the Supream Law, yet 'tis of the Community concretively and not discretively considered; the Governing Part, as well as the Governed Part is comprehended therein, the Preservation and Safety of the one being concatenated unto, and included in the other. 'Tis true, every Community considered simply and antecedently to the Constitution of a Government therein is warranted, and authorized by the Natural and Positive Law of God to Design and Nominate some particular Person or Persons to be the Rulers and Governours thereof, but this is not the Communicating of any Authority or Power that was inherent in themselves before, but only the Condition of the Application of that Authority and Power which God as the Fountain and Efficient Cause deriveth

veth to be exercised subordinately to himself by one Man over another. And therefore supposing a Community settled under a constituted Government, whether we consider the governed Members thereof *divisim* or *conjunctim*, singly and a part or united and altogether, they are one and all equally Subjects, and altogether as well as asunder obliged to Subjection and Obedience, and accordingly the higher Powers are over Kingdoms and Nations, and not merely over particular Persons. Saul was called *the Head of the Tribes of Israel*, 1 Sam. 15. 17. and so successively, all that were anointed Kings, were *Kings over Israel*, and not only over this and that, and the other Israelite. And our Laws have ever accounted the King *post Deum secundus, next to God*; and *solo Deo minor, less only than God in his Dominions*; and *vicarius Dei, Gods Vice-gerent*, and not the Peoples Vicar-general. And the Oath of Supremacy is designed to agnize *the King's Highness to be the only Supream Governour of this Realm*. And if he be *Supream*, he is subordinate to no Person or Body Politick whatsoever: if *only Supream*, he hath no equal or coordinate Authority with his: if *Governour of this Realm*, he is over all collectively or representatively considered, as well as over particular Families or individual Persons. And in the Statute of 24 Hen. 8. ch. 12. 'tis acknowledged, *That by divers old Authentick Histories and Chronicles, it is manifestly declared, that this Realm of England is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the World, Governed by one Supream Head and King, having the Dignity and Royal Estate of the Imperial Crown of the same, unto whom a Body Politick compact of all sorts and degrees of People, divided into Terms and by Names of Spirituality and Temporality, being bounden and owing next to God a Natural and humble Obedience, he being instituted and furnished by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God with plenary, whole and entire Power, Prebeminence and Authority, &c.* Here 'tis declared, *that the Body Politick compact of all sorts and degrees of People do owe unto the one Supream Head and King, next to God a Natural and humble Obedience.* And this *Plenary Power* of his is not derived and entrusted from the People, but *is instituted and furnished by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God.* And answerably when both Houses of Parliament Address themselves, 'tis not in a Form implying either Superiority or Equality, but as humble Petitioners, Faithful and Obedient Subjects; *e. g. in Stat. of Elizabeth 30. we most humbly beseech your most Excellent Majesty, your Faithful and Obedient Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assembled in Parliament.* Or thus, *we your Majesties loving, faithful and obedient Subjects, representing your three Estates of your Realm of England, &c. except we should overmuch forget our Duties to your Highness, &c. do most humbly beseech, &c.* a plain indication, that their Parliamentary Authority is not Imperial or Royal, but consultive and approbative. And by what Chymical Art or Politick Fetch any Man can from hence infer a real Sovereignty or Majesty lodged in some essential Body of Men, in contradistinction to the Personal Sovereignty and Majesty of the King, which is superior to that lodged in and exercised by the King, and may as opportunity offers warantably resist and evacuate it, is past my understanding to imagin.

Sett. 25. I shall conclude this Branch of my Discourse with this request to you, I pray consider to what purpose are all those Ornaments of State, with which the Wisdom of our Ancestors have invested the Regal Dignity, if the Persons that partake of them, cannot protect themselves against the Assaults and Outrages of their Subjects, but may be deposed and have a writ of ease served upon them, when they think fit to judge the Power entrusted with them forfeited, and to revoke it? If a Crown cannot secure the Princes Head that wears it, nor the Throne he sits on mount him above force and compulsion, nor, his Scepter awe the seditious and turbulent, they are meer pageantries, and pompous ostentations of Vanity, and have nothing of real magnificence and usefulness in them. But as *delight is not seemly for a Fool*, so much less is it seemly for a Servant [or a Subject] to Rule over Princes, Pro. 19. 10. which concludes my Argument against the Resistance of Sovereign Princes drawn from the Principles of common Reason.

Sect. 26. 2. The next thing to be evinced to you is, That 'tis against the Principles of Religion as well as of Reason, to allow Liberty to Subjects to resist the Sovereign Powers with armed Force in any case and upon any pretence whatsoever. And that I may do it the more satisfactorily, I will shew you both from the Jewish and Christian Constitution, that 'tis unlawful for Subjects to resist the Supream Powers with armed Force.

1. I shall begin with some Reflections on the *Jewish* Constitution. I find, that some very learned Men have thought, That in some Cases 'twas lawful under the *Jewish* State to take Arms against the Sovereign Power, who notwithstanding affirm'd, that 'tis utterly unlawful for Subjects so to do under the Christian Constitution, Christians being restrained by the peculiar Precepts of the Gospel, from that liberty the Law in that case allowed. But so far as I can judge, this is an indefenceable Opinion; for the Christian Constitution doth not introduce a New Foundation of Civil Policy and common Rights, nor establish any new Prohibitions for the Defence of just Rights by a lawful Authority. And therefore I conclude, 'twas unlawful for all Subjects under the Old Testament Dispensation to resist the Higher Powers as well as under the New.

Sect. 27. From *Moses* to *Saul* the Government of the *Jews* was a Theocracy, that is, *God himself was their Supreme Lord and King*, and immediately exercised a ruling Power over them by Persons of his own Election and Constitution, who in all cases of difficulty had immediate recourse to God for direction; and accordingly when they grew weary of *Samuel's* Government, who was thus appointed over them, they are said to reject *God himself*, 1 *Sam.* 8. 7. and 1 *Sam.* 10. 19. and therefore in all that time, the Resistance of the Supreme Power was a Resistance of God himself: the only Difficulty then is, How the Case stood after *Saul* was invested with the Kingly Government of that People; whether that Sovereign, irresistible and unaccountable Authority and Power which was formerly subjected in, and exercised by, *Moses* and *Aaron*, and the succeeding Judges and High Priests was translated to them, who afterwards were possessed of, and exercised the Kingly Authority and Power?

Sect. 28. For the right Understanding of which we are to consult, what God commanded *Samuel* in his Name to protest to the People of *Israel* concerning the Kingly Office and Power; of which we have an account in 1 *Sam.* 8. 9, to 18. in *vers.* 11. *This will be the manner [Mishpat, the Right, say some] of the King, that shall reign over you; He shall take your Sons and appoint them for himself, for his Chariots, and to be his Horsemen, and some shall run before his Chariots, — And he will take your Daughters to be Confectionaries, Cooks and Bakers; and he will take your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your Olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his Servants; and he shall take your Men Servants and your Maid Servants — and ye shall be his Servants.* This People would not be contented, unless God gave them a King as their Neighbouring Nations had to govern them, and here the Prophet represents to them, how he would demean himself in his Government. He would from his Prerogative royal after the manner of the Kings of the Gentiles (which was such a King as they desired) claim and exercise Power to dispose of their Persons and Possessions as he pleased; and how causelessly soever he oppressed them, and to what base Drudgeries and dangerous Employments soever he consigned them, their case would be remediless; for as God would not help and relieve, so neither could they lawfully by resistance help and relieve one another: his external Magnificence and Pomp would tempt him to very grievous Exactions, and how unreasonable and intollerable soever they might seem to be, there was no redress to be expected, because his Power was irresistible and uncontrollable, and from which no appeal could be made, *verse* 18. *Ye shall cry out in that day because of your King, which ye shall have chose you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day:* 'Tis plain therefore, that the Original

Charter of that Supreme Power formerly exercised over this People, was not lessened and limited by the Translation of it into a Regal Dignity: but this manner of Government was more inconvenient for the People, because the Grandeur and pompous Magnificence thereof would be more burthensome and oppressive to them.

Sect. 28. 'Tis true, their King was not commissioned and authorized by God to deal thus with them, unless in case of extream necessity, of which he was the sole Judge, nor consequently could he do so lawfully and justly; for God expressly forbid the Prince to take his Peoples inheritance, and to thrust them by Oppression out of their Possessions, Ezek. 46. 18. And therefore when *Abab* was guilty of such a Fact; he was condemned and severely threatened for it, 1 Kings 21. 20, 21. this description then of the manner of the King, doth not primarily respect his Office, but the exercise of his extraordinary Power, and which necessarily belongs to all Sovereign Powers, and is habitually inherent in them, though never exerted: for we cannot understand it simply of what the King might *de facto*, actually do, because 'tis very ordinary for one private Man to oppress another; we must therefore understand it of such an effect of Power as carries with it the privilege of what is righteously and justly done, that is, it must not be resisted and punished. Although he hath not God's approbation, yet he hath thus far his toleration, that God forbids his Subjects to resist him; and he hath this peculiar Right to himself, that what is punishable in others is not so in him; which is evidently implied in *verse 19.* *If ye shall cry out in that day, because of your King, God will not hear you:* That is, God would not allow them to resist or appeal to any Superior Power: and to this Sense and Interpretation agreeth that of *Solomon*, Eccl. 8. 4. *Where the Word of a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto him, what dost thou?* and elsewhere he speaks of the King against whom there is no rising up, Prov. 30. 31. Clearly intimating, that the Subjects of *Israel* could not lawfully resist their Kings with armed Force: And this was the Reason (as *St. Augustine* observes) why *David* confessing his hainous Sins of Murther and Adultery, both capital Crimes, said, *Against thee only* [that is, God] *have I sinned*, Psal. 51. 4. Because being a King, 'twas his peculiar Prerogative to be exempted from all the Penalties, which were the Effects of humane Power, and to be only subject to divine Vengeance: And, I conceive, that of *Jezebel* to King *Abab*, implieth so much too, 1 Kings 21. 7. *Dost thou now govern the Kingdom of Israel?* which being spoken with reference to the obtaining of *Naboth's Vineyard*, suggested to him, that being a King, he was not obnoxious to the coercive Force or Penalty of any human Law, and therefore might do what he would to satisfy and please himself, without exposing himself to any legal Danger of Opposition or Resistance.

Sect. 29. This Truth will further appear from the Consideration of the particular Case of *Saul*, who was the first Person that was invested with the Regal Dignity, according to that Fundamental Law of the Kingdom of *Israel* or *Judah*, Deut. 17. 15. *Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee whom the Lord thy God shall chuse:* For he was chosen by the Lord to be King of *Israel*, and by his special Command anointed to the Kingly Office by *Samuel*, 1 Sam. 9. 16. Comp. with 1 Sam. 10. 1. and for such recognized by all the People, 1 Sam. 10. 24. and Ch. 11. 15. and that he was exempted in the Exercise of his Regal Office, from the Violence of armed Force, shall be manifested from the Deportment of *David* towards him, respectively to whom he abused his Regal Power in a most stupendious manner. *David* was by God's special Command anointed to succeed him in the Throne, long before *Saul's* Death, 1 Sam. 16. 12, 13. which was well known to *Saul*, 1 Sam. 24. 20. The Case was this, *Saul* for his Disobedience to God's positive Command was rejected [decreed to be rejected] from his Kingdom, 1 Sam. 13. 13, 14. But his Kingdom was to continue to him during his life, 1 Sam. 26. 10, 11. that is, the Kingdom was translated from *Saul's* Family, and established in *David's*. *Saul* henceforward

forward was Tenant (if I may so speak) for life only of the Kingdom, and *David* was Reversioner in Fee: The common Interest therefore of the Kingdom, was in an extraordinary manner included in *David's* Safety, and he was obliged to preserve himself for the public Welfare; and by the Designation of God himself, 'twas manifest, that the exchange of *Saul* for *David* would be for the general Good of the Kingdom.

Sect. 30. Under all these Circumstances, *Saul* degenerates more and more, and is so stubbornly rebellious against the Commands of God, that *Samuel* tells him plainly, that God had rejected him from being King, and rent his Kingdom from him, and given it to one better than he, 1 Sam. 15. 23, and 28. that is, God's Sentence of Rejection was renewed and confirmed against him, but not actually executed upon him, till he was slain by the *Amalekite*: and to other provocations, *Saul* adds a most unjust, malicious, ungrateful and inhuman Persecution of *David*, and nothing less than his Death will satisfy him, 1 Sam. 20. 31, 32: and for his sake most barbarously Murthers Fourscore and Five Priests of the Lord: And Nob the City of the Priests smote he with the Edge of the Sword, both Men and Women, Children and Sucklings, and Oxen, and Asses, and Sheep, 1 Sam. 22. 18, 19. which was a most inhuman Fact, and afterwards hunted after *David* as for a Partridge on the Mountains, and drove him away from the public Worship of God, and did interpretatively say unto him, go serve other Gods, 1 Sam. 26. 19. which as it was an horrible wickedness in *Saul*, so a great Temptation, I mean, of an apt tendency to provoke *David* to defend himself by armed Force. He might have pretended, that *Saul* had violated all the Bonds of Reason and Religion: He had not only murdered great numbers of his innocent common Subjects, but also of the Lord's Priests, as if he designed an extirpation of God's public Worship: and that he had not only Self-preservation to engage him to a Resistance, but also that the common Rights of all the Kingdom challenged his Protection.

Sect. 30. This was really *David's* case, and yet when God put *Saul* once and again under the Power of *David's* Hands, all the Use that he made of it was to convince *Saul*, that he was his Faithful and Loyal Subject, and though he had suffered many and great Injuries causlessly from him, yet no provocation should induce him to do his Sovereign any harm: Indeed, *David's* Servants and Followers were forward enough to perswade him to dispatch him out of the way as a Fact, that would make way for the accomplishment of God's gracious Promise to *David* and the whole Kingdom: But *David* abhors the Motion, and cries out, God forbid that I should do this thing to my Master, the Lord's anointed; to stretch forth mine hand against him: And the Reason which restrain'd him was founded on this Fundamental Law of Sovereignty, That 'tis not to be resisted or controuled by armed Force: Seeing he is (saith he) the Lord's anointed, 1 Sam. 24. 4, 5, 6. &c. And so when *Abishai* would have smote *Saul* he forbade it for the same Reason, 1 Sam. 26. 8, 9. *Abishai* said to *David* (when they found *Saul* sleeping within a Trench) God hath delivered thine Enemy into thy hand this day: now therefore let me smite him, I pray thee, with the Spear even to the Earth at once; I will not smite him the second time: and *David* said to *Abishai*, destroy him not, for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed and be innocent or guiltless? q.d. He is our King, and hath from the Lord a *Noli me tangere* on him, and the Hand of Violence cannot be laid on without Sin, and a fearful Expectation of divine Vengeance: Which Words did not proceed from cowardly Fears or ignorant Scrupolity, but from Conscience of Obedience to God and clear Motives of Duty to the King: For *David* was a Man of invincible Courage, and being a Prophet could not but be well instructed in his Duty, and 'tis said of him, that he was not only wiser than his Enemies, but also, wiser than all his Teachers, Psal. 119. 98, 99. and wiser than all the Servants of *Saul*, 1 Sam. 18. 30. And 'tis highly probable that he Penn'd about the same time the 54th, and 57th Psalm, as the Titles of them intimate, and consequently that he was directed in what

what he did by the special Conduct of God's Holy Spirit, and well understood both his Duty and Interest : and if you consult the 23^d and 24th Verses of this Chapter, you shall find that he made very comfortable Conclusions from his Loyal Deportment in the Case ; *The Lord* (said he) *render to every Man his Righteousness and his Faithfulness : for the Lord delivered thee into mine hand to day, but I would not stretch forth mine hand against the Lord's anointed: and behold as thy life was much set by this day in mine eyes, so let my life be much set by in the Eyes of the Lord, and let him deliver me out of all Tribulation :* And his commanding Death to be executed on the *Amalekite* which slew *Saul* (though *Saul* was mortally wounded before, and 'twas done at his own request, to save him from further Torture and Disgrace, and to preserve the *Regalia*) is a further Evidence, that *David* thought it an unlawful thing to assault his King with armed Force, and his question to the *Amalekite* manifestly implies it, *How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand to destroy the Lord's anointed,* 2 Sam. 1. 14, 15.

Sect. 31. But perhaps you may think, That the very Ceremony of *Anointing* being done by God's special Command, was that which bound up *David's* Hands, and priviledg'd *Saul* from violent Resistance and Coercion, because this is every where mentioned as the moving Cause of *David's* restraint from defensive and offensive Resistance. 'Tis manifest, That the Priests as well as *Saul* were *Anointed* by God's Command, and yet that did not exempt from being accountable for their Actions, and free them from the Danger of coercive Force and Punishment : It was not therefore barely the Ceremony of *Anointing*, but the Sovereign Authority thereby signified which priviledg'd him from Resistance. His *Anointing* was no addition to his Power, but only signified God's Designation, Constitution and Approbation of his Power : 'Twas the Nature of his Regal Dignity and Power, and not the manner of collating or conferring it which exempted from coercion and correction : 'Tis the Essence and not the Ceremonies of Things which constitutes and denominates them : For Ceremonies are things extrinsic both to Being and Operation. And although *Saul* and *David*, who were the first of their respective Families that were invested with Regal Dignity, were anointed, yet such as succeeded by Inheritance to the Kingdom, as *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah*, *Josiah*, were not anointed ; and yet had as much Authority as their Predecessors, and as great Priviledges.

Sect. 32. Those Arguments which are ordinarily drawn from the *Armed Men*, which were with *David*, and over which he was Captain, 1 Sam. 22. 2. and Ch. 23. 13. which are called *Helpers of the War*, 2 Chr. 12. 1. And from his residing at *Keilah*, a place fit to be garrison'd, 1 Sam. 23. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. to prove that 'twas lawful for *David* to resist *Saul* with armed Force are nothing to the purpose : for *David* being Son-in-Law to a King, expectant of the Crown, in which he was like to meet with Opposition, subject to private Assaults, and needing good Intelligence to prevent a Surprise from *Saul* and his public Enemies, 'twas highly expedient, that he should have a considerable Retinue about him to be as a Life-guard to him, and to be in a readiness to serve him, whensoever God by his Providence should call him to succeed in the Throne : neither doth the Peoples Rescue of *Jonathan* from the Death his Father threatned to inflict upon him, 1 Sam. 14. 44, 45. in the least discover any hostile Violence offer'd to the King, much less, that they might lawfully assault him with armed Force : Their act was an act of Mediation and not of Coercion : And a learned Man observes that the Original Word translated [*they rescued him*] signifies, *they redeemed him* : That is, *Jonathan's* Life by *Saul's* Vow being forfeited to God, the People by a general Consent substituted an offering to God for the Vow according to the Law in such a Case. Lev. 27. 2. and so delivered *Jonathan* from Death, not by forcing *Saul*, but by appealing God. This was the Case under the Jewish Constitution, which is

not chargeable with weakness or wickedness, because the Contrivance and Establishment of the most wise and righteous Lord of Heaven and Earth: and if God doth not make the best Provision for the Rights, Safety and Peace of all Men, who willerth the Salvation of them all, who will or can?

Sect. 33. And as it is evident from the instance of *Saul*, that the Abuse of the Regal Power in male-Administration and Tyrannical Usages of the best, the most innocent and serviceable Subjects, is no forfeiture thereof, nor warranty for the Subjects to resist with armed Force, and depose their Sovereign; so we shall find in the succeeding Generations after the Translation of the Regal Dignity from *Saul's* to *David's* Family, that how much soever the Regal Power was abused either respectively to Civil or Religious Matters, and how much soever God was provoked thereby, there was no liberty granted or allowed for Resistance, or endeavours for a Reformation of corruption in the King or his Officers. I shall instance in *Solomon*, and compare his duty with his practice. You have the Kings duty described, *Deut. 17. 16, 17, 18, 19.* *He shall not multiply Horses to himself, nor cause the People to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply Horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, ye shall henceforth return no more that way. Neither shall he multiply Wives to himself, that his Heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself Silver and Gold. And it shall be when he sitteth on the Throne of his Kingdom, that he shall write him a Copy of his Law in a Book—and he shall read therein all the Days of his Life, that he learn to fear the Lord his God, &c.* Let us now take a View of *Solomon's* Practice, and we shall find, that he acted as if he had been under no such restraints and limitations. *He sent into Egypt for Horses, 1 Kings 10. 28. He loved strange Women (together with the Daughter of Pharaoh) Women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, Hittites. And he had Seven Hundred Wives, Princesses, and Three Hundred Concubines: and his Wives turned away his Heart, 1 Kings 11. 1. and 2. that is, after other Gods, v. 4. and seven hundred Wives that were Princesses, and three hundred Concubines, with their respective Idol Gods, could not be supported and maintained in a State of Magnificence at a cheap rate, and therefore he made Silver to be in Jerusalem as Stones, 1 Kings 10. 27. and he had so many Vessels of Gold, that their abundance made Gold to be nothing accounted of in his days, v. 21. which great Treasure was probably obtained either by heavy exactions from or the great hazards of his Subjects. And yet here was no suggestion, that there was a justifiable occasion for his Subjects to Rebel and set up another King. Indeed God threatened to rend his Kingdom from him, because he had not observed the direction of the standing Law of his Kingdom: but his Subjects had no Authority to controul or punish him.*

Sect. 34. Yea, you shall find that when the Jews were a Conquered People and carried away Captive into *Babylon*, God obliged them to submit to the Sovereign Power thereof. *Jer. 29. 7. seek the Peace of the City whither I have caused you to be carried away Captive: for in the Peace thereof ye shall have Peace.* And in obedience to this command *Mordecai* discovered the Traitorous Conspiracy of *Bigthana* and *Terish*, the King's Chamberlains, against the King *Abasuerus*, *Esth. 2. 21, 22, 23.* compt. With *ch. 6. 2.* and though they were reduced to as great an extremity as ever a People under Heaven were by a Decree obtained by *Haman* from *Abasuerus* to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish all Jews, both young and old, little Children and Women in one day, *Esth. 3. 13.* and they were a very numerous People, and could have made a considerable Defence; yet *Mordecai* durst not think of using armed Force, but resolved upon Passive Obedience, unless they could obtain a Decree from the King to defend themselves. The King's Decree by the Fundamental Constitution of the *Medes* and *Persians* was not reversible but must be executed, *Esth. 8. 8.* *Esters* Petition therefore to have the King's Letters devised by *Haman* to destroy the Jews reversed could not be granted, *Esth. 8. 5.* but the King

grants her a Decree, that the Jews which were in every City, might gather themselves together, and stand for their Life, to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish all the Power of the People and Province that would assault them, *Esth.* 8. 11. and being favoured with this liberty of Self-defence, the Jews gathered themselves together in their Cities — to lay hand on such as sought their hurt, and no Man could withstand them: for the Fear of them fell upon all the People, *Esth.* 9. 2. and *vers.* 16. they had rest from their Enemies, and slew of their Foes seventy and five thousand: And if they, who were Captives of War, and so well able to defend themselves from the Execution of such an inhuman, bloody and undeserved a Decree to destroy them root and branch, durst not defend themselves by force of Arms against Regal Power, nor those thereby commissioned, without liberty and allowance therefrom first granted and obtained, what shall we think of those Men, by what Spirit are they guided and acted, who only from some particular personal or Family-grievances, and some public Inconveniences and perhaps Mischiefs, betake themselves to armed Force to Resist and Depose their lawful and natural Prince?

Seet. 35. 2. Having thus proved it utterly unlawful under the Jewish Constitution, upon any pretence whatsoever to resist the Higher Powers, I shall now likewise as evidently discover the unlawfulness thereof under the Christian Constitution. When our Saviour first entered on his Ministerial Office, the first Thing he did, was to declare the Approach of a New Kingdom; and the next to instruct his Disciples, That this Kingdom was no Kingdom of this World: for 'tis said, when Jesus began to preach he said, Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, *Mat.* 4. 17. i. e. By an usual Hebraism, an heavenly Kingdom, and so called in opposition to earthly Kingdoms: implying, that this Kingdom which the God of Heaven was by him now setting up, and which was never to be destroyed, as Daniel had prophesied, *Ch.* 2. 44. Was not a Kingdom of this World, was not to be founded, supported and propagated by the Assumption and Exercise of any Civil temporal Power, but was to be introduced and established from the Strength and Power of divine Truth and its own goodness, without the help of any Civil Power or worldly Interest, being altogether different in its Nature and Constitution, and in its design and administration from all earthly and secular Empires. Wherefore the Institution and Erection of Christ's Kingdom, was no way prejudicial to the Being or Rights of any earthly Kingdom, but as the Civil Governments of the World were settled before, so they still continued without any innovation or alteration hereby made.

Seet. 36. And answerably we find, that Christ was so far from challenging to himself an Exemption from Subjection to any in Authority, that upon all occasions he readily submitted to them: though he were a King, yet he was neither Enemy or Rival to any King in the World for his Kingdom, and utterly disclaimed all temporal Jurisdictions as unbecoming his designed Kingdom: thus when he fed the People by a Miracle, and thereby convinced them, that he was the Messiah they expected according to the Prediction in *Deut.* 18. 18. they presuming that he was designed to be the Restorer of the Temporal Kingdom and worldly Prosperity to Israel, *Acts.* 1. 6. projected to make him their King: but he foreseeing it, immediately withdrew himself from them to prevent their Intendment, and to shew them how much he abhorred it, *John.* 6. 15. and when he was requested to interpose as a Judge to decide and determine a Controversy betwixt two Brethren, he protests against it as a Matter foreign to him, *Luke.* 12. 13, 14. and so in the Case of the Woman taken in Adultery and brought before him to be judged by him, *Joh.* 8. 3. he plainly declared by his deportment and silence, that they attempted to trouble him with impertinent Matters, incongruous to the Person he sustained: and when the Pharisees and Herodians very ceremoniously addressed themselves to him, thinking by the Art of Wheedling to

Complement him to resolve an ensnaring Question, saying, *Matt. 22. 16. We know that thou art true — tell us, what thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give Tribute unto Caesar?* After they had shewed him their Tribute-mony, and told him whose Image and Superscription it had, *viz. Caesars*: which was as evident an Argument of the Sovereignty as Legislation or the Execution thereof, he makes no inquiry into the Original of *Caesar's* Dominion, or his manner of administering it, or what his Prerogatives and Rights were, but peremptorily Commands them *to render unto Caesar the Things that are Caesars*, *vers. 21.* Be he who he will, and let him govern how he will, he must have what of right belongs to him, *Rom. 13. 7. Render unto all their dues, Tribute to whom Tribute, Custom to whom Custom*: and agreeably when a Tax was demanded of him as Tribute due to *Caesar* (indeed some very learned Men think it was Tribute-money paid for the Temple Service, *vide Hammond*; and if so, I conceive it alters not the Case at all) though he might have pleaded from the Dignity of his Person, as the Son of God, an exemption from all obligation to it, yet to prevent in the Officers, a scandalous Suspicion that he was disaffected to the Rights of the Authority by which it was demanded, He obeyed to the Expence of a Miracle, *Mat. 17. 24, 25, 26, 27.* and when he was arraigned and tryed for his Life in the Judgment-Hall before *Pontius Pilate*, he did not only own his Authority, but chearfully submitted to his bloody and unrighteous Sentence: So that, he did at no time upon any provocation whatsoever discover, that he had any Commission to change the Constitution of any Civil Government whatsoever, or abridge the Rights thereof, or set it new Measures of Administration, and unsettle it in any of its just Claims and Prerogatives.

Sect. 37. Indeed, as soon as he entered on his Mediatory Office, he had by the Donation and Deligation of God the Father an absolute Supremacy and general authoritative Power over all Powers in Heaven and Earth, *Mat. 11. 27. Joh. 3. 35. and 5. 22, 27. Joh. 13. 3. and 17. 2.* (though he had not the plenary Possession and Execution of it till after his Resurrection and Ascension, *Mat. 28. 18. Phil. 2. 9, 10, 11. Eph. 1. 20, 21, 22. Psal. 3. 8. Rev. 11. 15. 1 Pet. 3. 22. Heb. 2. 5, 6, 7, 8. Col. 2. 10.*) and which he possesseth and exerciseth with a special respect to subserve the Protection and Salvation of his Church, *Eph. 1. 22.* and not to alter the Fundamental Constitution, or to abridge and limit the Civil Rights of any Kingdom or State in the World: and that special, internal and proper Power which he partakes of and exerciseth directly and immediately for the gathering, constituting and Government of his Church as such, and which he deriveth to those who are to exercise an internal and proper governing Power over it as his commissioned Officers, is meerly spiritual, and all the Laws of it are enforced only with such Sanctions as are of a spiritual Consideration, *viz.* Such Rewards and Punishments as refer to the Conscience, and are apt to govern Mens Souls without laying any restraint on their Bodies or Mulets on their Estates, and therefore can no way interfere with, or entrench on, the Rights and Prerogatives of a Civil Government

Sect. 37. And that discourse which passed betwixt the Lord Jesus and Pontius Pilate, when he was arraigned and examined before him is a full evidence that his Kingdom is of a spiritual Nature, and to be supported by agreeable means, and not to be propugned and defended by the force of Arms: you have a large Narrative of it, *Joh. 18. 34, 35, 36, 37. Pilate said to Jesus, art thou the King of the Jews?* *vers. 33.* to which question Christ doth not answer directly, but yet makes such an answer as was a sufficient Ground for Pilate to infer, that he was a King, *vers. 37. Pilate therefore said to him, art thou a King then?* to which Jesus answered, *thou sayest that I am a King, i. e. thou concludest a right that I am a King, I freely acknowledge it, and have a Kingdom under my Power, wherein my Subjects are to acknowledge my Sovereign Authority, to obey my Laws, and to depend upon me*

me for Protection and Defence: but yet the Potentates of the World had no reason to entertain any jealous Fears, least he design to undermine and dissolve, or to alter, abridge, limit or disturb any of the ancient Rights and Customs of their Dominions and Royalties; for said he, *My Kingdom is not of this World*, vers. 36. q. d. my Kingdom hath not such an Original and subsistence as worldly Monarchies have, *doth not come with Observation*, as he elsewhere said, *Luk. 17. 19.* hath not the Pomp and Splendor of a solemn Court attending it, doth not partake of any Civil Authority and Power, nor pretend to any Right to vindicate and justify itself by force of Arms; but 'tis altogether managed in a spiritual Way, and protected with spiritual Weapons, *2 Cor. 10. 4.* with the Armor of God and not of Man, *Eph. 6. 11.* and therefore Pilate need not fear that his pretensions to a Kingdom would endanger the quiet of the Roman State and Government: And for this, Christ gives Pilate a very satisfying Reason, *If my Kingdom (saith he) were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my Kingdom not from hence.* q. d. my Servants stand so well affected toward me and my Kingdom, that if they did pretend a Right to the Power of the Sword, and might warrantably oppose force to force from worldly Powers, they would in a military Way have assisted and defended me against the Jews when they apprehended and dealt with me as a Malefactor: but they could not pretend any Commission from me to repel with armed Force, the most injurious and violent Usage from the Higher Powers, for I did expressly forbid it, vers. 11. *Put up thy Sword into thy Sheath*, said he there to St. Peter, who rashly from a wild and ungoverned Zeal drew it in his defence.

Seet. 38. If you compare the Evangelists together, you shall find, that Christ's Disciples asked him, *If they should smite with the Sword*, *Luk. 22. 49?* and St. Peter probably being naturally somewhat too eager, and having an extraordinary tenderness for his Master's Person, and perhaps a little leavened with an expectation of a temporary Kingdom, without staying for an Answer, drew his Sword, and smote of Malchus, the High Priest's Servants Ear, who was likely most forward and busy in seizing of Christ: and what was the Event? our Saviour for the Reparation of the Injury, miraculously pieced it up again to his head, vers. 51. and severely reprimands Peter for his bold and unwarrantable Action, vers. 52. *Put up thy Sword again into his place:* and he gave him a Reason for it, which obliged him, and will have an unlimited and universal Obligation on all Subjects to the End of the World; *for all they that take the Sword shall perish by the Sword:* Which Words, as you may learn from the Margine of your Bibles, have reference to *Gen. 9. 6.* and *Rev. 3. 10.* and are in truth part of the moral Law, and clearly intimate, that when private Persons not authorized by the Higher Powers, do use the Sword in a vindicative and destructive Way, they are Murderers, let their pretensions be what they will, and must expect their allotment: *Vengeance is mine* (saith the Lord, *Rom. 12. 19.*) *I will repay:* and none but such as are commissioned by God, can wield the Sword of Justice, and claim a Power of Life and Death over Men, which Private Subjects cannot pretend. And if St. Peter's Resistance, nor of Caesar himself or the High Priest himself, but only of Inferiour Officers Commissioned by them, for the Preservation of Christ and Christianity too (for the Assailants aimed at the Destruction of both) and this done too rashly and indeliberately without any premeditated prejudice and malice, be so blamable, and an usurpation upon God's prerogative, because he was a Subject and had no claim to the Power of the Sword, I'm sure no Man in the same Relation can have a warrantable Ground to avenge himself on his Sovereign Lord the King, or resist his Commissioned Officers.

Sect. 39. And our Saviour having chid and threatned *Peter* into Obedience, he presently declares to him, that it was a plain Resistance to the Nature of the Design, he was to accomplish in the World, to attempt the Defence or Promotion of it by armed Force and Violence, *Jo. 18. 37. to this end (saith he) was I born, and for this cause came I into the World, that I should bear witness unto the Truth; every one that is of the Truth heareth my Voice. q. d. my Kingdom is to subsist by the Power of the Truth, and not by the Power of the Sword; and all that are heartily zealous for the Truth, will voluntarily submit themselves to my institutions. And that I have no mind to Rescue my Person, and settle my Kingdom by Force of Arms levied against the Powers of the World, thou mayest infer from hence; for thinkest thou (saith Christ to Peter) that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give Twelve Legions of Angels, Mat. 26. 53?* Who owed Subjection and Obedience to no earthly Powers, and so were fitter Assistance in such a Case, than *Peter* and the rest of his Disciples were. Wherefore if it had been necessary, proper or agreeable to that constitution of Things he was about to Establish, he could have relieved himself without *St. Peter's* help with a forcible Resistance, but that would not effect his Ends, but destroy them. *For how then (saith he) shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be, Mat. 26. 54?* Which foretold, that he should quietly and patiently, without any resistance, submit himself to all sorts of ignominious and cruel sufferings from the Legal Powers of the World, *Is. 53. 3. to 8.*

Sect. 40. And as Christ preached and practiced the Doctrine of Non-resistance, so did his Disciples and Followers also. *St. Paul* in the first Verse of this Chapter, where the Text is, chargeth every Soul to be subject to the Higher Powers: All Men, of what Rank, Order, Degree or Quality soever, the whole Body of the People, as well as every individual Person: which he enforceth with irresistible Reasons; *for there is no Power but of God: the Powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the Power resisteth the Ordinance of God:* And the Roman Power of Government, was at this time probably in *Nero's* hand, who was not only an Heathen, but also a Man most prodigiously Tyrannical, a fierce and barbarous Enemy to Christians and their Religion, and such a Monster of Villany and Wickedness as hath scarcely been known in the World: and *St. Peter* taught the same Doctrine, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governours as unto them that are sent by him, for the Punishment of evil Doers, and for the Praise of them that do well; for so is the Will of God, that with well-doing, you put to silence the Ignorance of foolish Men, 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 15.* and as the Apostles taught others to do so they themselves did: They submitted themselves to the Civil Powers, where ever they came, honoured their Persons and obeyed their Laws, unless inconsistent with their Obedience unto God; and then they chose rather to obey God than Man, *Acts 3. 29.* and when punished for disobedience to unreasonable and unjust Laws, they suffered with great serenity and submission of Mind, without passionate Perturbations, or bitter Reflections, or appearance of any Inclination to Resistance. When they were injuriously imprisoned, *Acts 4. 3.* and beaten, *Acts 5. 41.* they did not exclaim, revile or calumniate, but went away rejoicing: So when *Herod* had butchered *St. James*, and consign'd *St. Peter* to the same Portion, there was no spreading of Libels, raising of Tumults, or confederation of Factions in the City, but they possessed their Souls in Patience, and Prayers and Tears were their only Weapons of Defence: And certainly, there is scarce any particular Instance, wherein Christianity did more triumph in the World, than in their exemplary Submission to the Civil Powers, especially in the patient Endurance of unjust Penalties on their Persons and Possessions.

Sect. 41. And hereby they declared an acknowledgment, That God had decreed and predestinated them as they were Christians to be *conformed to the Image of his Son in his Obedience and Sufferings*, Rom. 8. 29. So St. Peter, 1 E. c. 2. 20, 21. *and if when we do well and suffer for it, we take it patiently, we do that which is acceptable to God: for even hereunto are we called* [chosen and appointed by the Decree and Constitution of God] *because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an Example, that we should follow his steps*, That is, Christ by his patient Sufferings of unjust Punishment from the Higher Powers without resistance, hath left us a Pattern for our Imitation. And therefore though such actual sufferings be not the Portion of every Christian, yet they are the Condition of his Discipleship to Christ, and he cannot be worthy of his calling, if he be not prevalently disposed to an imitation of Jesus Christ therein. For his Kingdom is to be asserted and maintained by active and Passive Obedience, and not by fighting. You are not to embrace and defend Religion as a Matter of worldly Interest, but as a Matter of Conscience, whose advantages are purely spiritual, primarily relating to our State in another World, and which can subsist by vertue of its own essential strength and goodness, not only without the Assistance; but in Defiance to all the Contradictions and Oppositions of worldly Powers.

Sect. 42. 'Tis true, Religion being the best Thing we are capable of enjoying, because the Welfare of our immortal Souls depends upon it, which are to be dearer to us than all the World, we are to prize it above all endearments whatsoever, and consequently must be chiefly careful to preserve and defend it, and to use all lawful means to that purpose, and therefore may in some cases apply our selves to the Use of armed Force for Religions sake, when Established by Law and made a Propriety, which can only be done by a Commission derived from the Sovereign Power, and never in a Way of Resistance to it. A Good is only to be obtained and pursued by agreeable means, because the End is virtually in the means. And therefore as *an Evil Tree doth not bring forth Good Fruit*, Mat. 7. 18. So neither can sinful means produce good Ends. Hence that of the Apostle, Rom. 3. 8. *They that say, let us do evil that good may come their damnation is just.*

Sect. 43. The Kingdom of Christ is a *Kingdom within his Subjects*, Luke 17. 21. essentially consists in *Righteousness and peace and joy in the holy Ghost*, Rom. 14. 17. which are things immediately seated in Mens Hearts; and can hold a Supremacy and exercise Dominion, and rule there in despite of the strongest and most malicious Enemies in the World, which set themselves up in opposition thereunto. Indeed the Emanations of Religion in bodily exercises are capable of restraints from external Force, but as Religion is a vital Principle of Action, and consists in the Resignation of our selves to God, with the Expectation of Acceptance and a Reward from him, cannot be oppressed or constrained from outward Force and Violence; and therefore needs not the Auxiliary Power of military Forces to support and defend it self; much less doth it need Assistance from Temporary Power to Assault and Invade others for its Preservation. A Man may be as eminently Religious, and the Power of Christ's Kingdom as highly advanced by him under the most slavish Constraints Human Nature is capable of, as when he is preferred to the greatest Preheminences the whole World can Accommodate him withal.

Sect. 44. This is a certain Truth, that external Advantages of Honour, Profit, Power and other Appurtenances to worldly Prosperity, add of themselves nothing to the Strength and Goodness of Religion; and therefore it can subsist as well without them as with them. For let a Mans outward Condition be what it will, he shall be as Religious as he is willing to be, and shall do as much good as he is willing to do, 2 Cor. 8. 12. *If there be first a willing Mind, 'tis accepted according to that a Man hath, and not according to that he hath not.* God doth

doth not measure the acceptability and rewardableness of a Christians Service, from the outward means and opportunities thereof, but from his integrity and readiness actually to perform his duty agreeably to his abilities and opportunities. If therefore through the Tyrannical Persecution of Religious Exercises, Christians want the external means and opportunities of Worshipping God solemnly and publicly, yet if they have a preparedness of Heart thereunto, and go so far as they can to express the seriousness of their veneration of God, they are as well accepted with God, and shall be as highly rewarded by him, as if they had performed in the most compleat and solemn Manner. It is then very clear and manifest, that the suppression and extirpation of Religion is not within the reach of the Civil Powers: they may restrain some outward expressions of it, but they cannot destroy the Life and Power of it. And therefore though the Persons and Properties of Christians may fare the worse, because of the Persecuting Rage of the higher Powers, yet their Christianity shall fare never the worse unless they themselves will.

Sect. 45. He then that thinks that he can love and honour God more by fighting for his Religion than by suffering, for it doth not understand the Nature of Christ's Kingdom, nor the peculiar Design of the Christian Religion, which is to govern all Christ's Subjects by the Spiritual Powers of Truth and Goodness without the Foreign Assistance of a material Sword, *2 Cor. 10. 3, 4, 5.* for though we walk in the Flesh (saith the Apostle) we do not war after the Flesh: for the Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong Holds; casting down Imaginations, and every high Thing that exalteth it self against the Knowledge of God, and bringing into Captivity every Thought to the Obedience of Christ. He therefore professeth a good Profession of Religion who faithfully dischargeth the Duties of his proper place, and when he is persecuted by the higher Powers for so doing, doth not by Resistance kill others to save himself alive, but patiently loseth his Life to save his Soul: For herein he walketh worthy of his Calling, which obligeth him to take up his Cross, but not a Sword: and were it lawful for him when persecuted for Religions sake by the higher Powers to defend himself with armed Force, 'twould not be his Religion which obliged him to suffer patiently and quietly for well-doing, but his weakness; not his Christian call but his natural necessity. And he could not be an imitator of Christ in the Submission and Patience of his Sufferings, who would avoid them by Resistance if he could, when Christ would not avoid his sufferings though he might. *The Cup which my Father hath given me shall I not drink, Jo. 18. 11.*

Sect. 46. He that professeth to fight for Religion by resisting the higher Powers may, and doth too often, whet his Sword with Malice, Revenge, Pride, Ambition, Discontent, or a Thousand other conceited worldly interests, which every body knows frequently patronize such hazardous Engagements, and therefore no body is bound to believe such a Mans Profession where there is so great an odds in the perswasive Motives to War: but when a Man prefers Submission before Rebellion, his Innocency before his Safety, patiently suffers the loss of Life, and lays it down obedientially to his Governours, as a Sacrifice to his God, acquitting all possible earthly interests to safe-guard one spiritual one, he makes such a Profession according to Human Judgment, as is not capable of a reasonable Suspicion of Imposture and Hypocrisie. And this is the middle Way of Subjection, to which God directs us betwixt active Obedience and forcible Resistance. When we cannot obey actively, we can and ought to obey passively: Though we cannot obey unlawful commands, yet we can be quiet and peaceable, yea, we may do any thing to prevent and redress grievances, except strive against our Governours with armed Force. And why this in no case whatsoever is lawful, I shall now shew you more particularly from the Principles of Religion.

*Seet. 47. 1. Because the higher Powers are of God, ordained of him, v. 1. and therefore who-
soever resisteth them, resisteth the Ordinance of God, as 'tis in the Words immediately preceding
the Text. That Human Societies may be settled in peace and quietness, God by his Ordi-
nance and Constitution, hath provided Government for them; and though he hath not
peremptorily appointed the particular Species or Form of Government, nor by any special
Revelation from Heaven immediately designed or nominated the individual Person or Per-
sons who shall be invested with, and exercise the Sovereign Authority and Power in every
Community of Men, as hath been formerly said; yet that his appointment of Government
might not be fruitless and in vain, he hath lain an obligation on all Societies of Men to do
such act or acts as shall appropriate unto some Person or Persons the Supremacy of Domini-
on and Rule, and invest him or them with a Propriety and Peculiarity in that Station and
Relation: and the Person or Persons so entitled to the Sovereign Power, may as truly be de-
nominated God's Ordinance, as if God by an immediate interposition had declared it so to
be. Be the Dominion Elective or Hereditary and Successive, the Case is the same: when
once the Sovereign Power is regularly and legally determined, and appropriated to one or
more, all that stand in the Relation of Subjects thereunto, are to acknowledge and perform
Subjection and Obedience as to God's Ordinance. Hence the Supream Ruler is termed in
v. 4. of this ch. the Minister of God. Because he partakes of God's Authority and Power, and
acts by his Commission in his stead; and whoever is obliged to yield Subjection unto God,
is also obliged to yield Subjection unto him for Gods sake. And answerably the Apostle
tells us, v. 5. that we must needs be subject for conscience sake. Which only is obliged by Gods
Law. And consequently, as every single Person seperately considered, and the whole
Body of the People collectively considered, are subject unto God, so to the Sovereign Power
too, and cannot resist the Sovereign Power, but they must likewise resist God himself, be-
cause the Power is given from the Lord and Sovereignty from the most High, Wisd. 6. 3. 'tis the
most High which ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, as Daniel speaks,
ch. 4. 25. who acknowledged to Belshazzar, ch. 5. 18. that the most High God gave Nebu-
chadnezzar his Father a Kingdom, and Majesty, and Glory, and Honour. So that, the Concur-
rence of the People in any case to the making of a King, hath only a Subserviency to the De-
signation of his Person, and contributes nothing at all towards the Collation of his Power.
For there is no Power but of God. And therefore by him only [Authority immediately derived
from him] do all the Kings in the World Reign, and Princes decree Justice, who are Supream and
Sovereign Kings and Princes, Psal. 8. 15. when therefore 'tis said, that all the People made Saul
King, 1 Sam. 11. 15. and anointed David King, 2 Sam. 2. 4. and made Solomon the Son of
David King. 1 Chron. 29. 22. the Meaning is, they made a Declaration that they con-
sented and acknowledged, that they were their Kings. For they were all Kings before, by
the especial Appointment of God himself, and could thereby derive no Authority or Power
from the People, only this voluntary acknowledgment rendred the Exercise of their Office
the more grateful to themselves and the People. Which may be (as formerly intimated)
illustrated by the chusing of Mayors, Sheriffs, Stewards, Bayliffs, and other Officers in
Corporate Towns and Cities, where the Persons chosen receive no Office or Authority from
the Electors, but wholly derive it from the King's Charter. So all the higher Powers are
God's Ordinance and not the Peoples. And therefore the higher Powers are dignified with
God's own Name, Ps. 82. 6. I have said ye are Gods. Because they are his Vice-gerents,
and act in his Name, and what they so do, God doth by them; and therefore, 'tis said,
He judgeth among the Gods, Ps. 82. 1. and their Throne is called the Throne of the Lord, 1
Chr. 29. 22. And they are said to judge not for Man but for the Lord, 2 Chr. 19. 6. which
is a convictive Evidence, that the Supream Powers depend immediately upon God only for
their*

their Dignities and Authorities. And hence by the Stile of our Laws, the King being the Supream Power, is *Rex Dei gratia, King by the Grace of God*, because he owes his Sovereign Dominion to God alone, and is to be accountable for it only to him. And the Statute of 16 Ric. 2. thus declares, *That the Crown of England hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things touching the Regality of the same Crown and to no other.* And the King being God's immediate Substitute, and exercising Dominion and Authority next, and immediately under him; as he that resisteth the King's Vice-Roy, resisteth the King, so he that resisteth the King, resisteth the Ordinance of God.

Sect. 48. 2. Because such a Resistance is utterly inconsistent with that awful reverence and observance the Laws of our Religion exact from us to the higher Powers. We are as peremptorily commanded to *fear the King*, as to *fear the Lord*, Pr. 24. 21. *Fear the Lord and the King.* And what God hath joyned together, we must not put asunder. We must fear to displease the one as well as the other: fear to displease the King, because we fear to displease the Lord: For God hath made this fear as properly due to the King, as the most Legal Custom or Tribute which is paid to him, Rom. 13. 7. *Render therefore to all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour.* And he cannot be restrain'd with this Fear, who Assaults his King with Force. Elsewhere we are commanded to *Honour the King*, 1 Pet. 2. 17. *Fear God: Honour the King.* Where the Fear of God is lain as the Foundation of a Mans aetings towards the King, Honour to the King will be the Superstructure: Piety necessarily disposeth to Loyalty, because our obligations to God comprehend our obligations to the King, and the prime Perswasive Motives to discharge our Duty to the King, are inferr'd from the Duty we owe to God. Hence we are required to *submit to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King as Supream, or unto Governors, as to those that are sent by him; why? For so is the Will of God*, 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14. and so in the Place before quoted, v. 7. of this ch. *we must be subject for conscience sake.* Wherefore the most visible and immediate Evidence we can possibly give for our fearing of God is, that, we Honour the King. And for my part, I cannot but fear, *That they who do not obey the King, who is a visible God, that they do not heartily obey God who is an invisible King. For he that loveth not his Brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen*, 1 Joh. 4. 20.

Sect. 49. Those whom God haith raised into a Communion with himself in the Eminency of his Authority and Power, and are exercised in high Employments under him, they are to be raised high in our Estimations of them, and are to be held in great reputation for God's sake; but how can we value them highly, whom we violently oppose? As he honours his Father and Mother who submits to their Government, so he dishonours them who resists and rejects it. He that did but uncover his Fathers nakedness which exposed him to contempt and scorn, though he did not try Masteries with him, was cursed, Gen. 9. 25. and Solomon tells us, *that the Eye that mocketh at his Father and disdaineth to obey his Mother, the Ravens of the Valley shall pick it out, and the young Eagles shall eat it*, Pr. 30. 17. that is, they shall come to an untimely death, and be denied Burial, as Traitors to the Paternal Government of our Country are, and thereby exposed to be devoured by ravenous Birds. And the Stubborn and Rebellious Son, which would not obey the Voice of his Father and Mother, tho' he did not Assault them with Force of Arms, endeavour to thrust them out of doors, or to subject them to his disorderly passions; yet he was to be *condemned by the Elders and stoned to Death*, Deut. 21. 21. and can you believe, that he is less faulty that dishonours and disobeyes his civil Parents, who are the nursing Fathers of his Country, than he which dishonours and disobeyes his natural Parents? Whatsoever is essential to the Paternal Power belongs to the Regal: and whatsoever Authority is in a dispersed manner found amongst any sort of inferior

riour and subordinate Rulers is cumulatively, and in much larger proportions seated in the King; and if lesser Governours are to be honoured with reverend esteem and submiss obedience, than *a Fortiori*, they that partake of Regal and Sovereign Dignity, are not to be despised and resisted.

Sect. 50. Yea, God is so far from allowing us Liberty of using Force of Arms, and doing Evil to the Ruler of our People, that he forbids us to *speake evil of him*, Exod. 22. 28. Acts 23. 5. and if we must hold our Tongues from Violence, I'm sure we must hold our Hands from Violence against him. I take this to be an unanswerable Argument for *Non-resistance*: for if it be unlawful to dishonour and affront the King with words, 'tis much more so to do it with blows. When St. Jude characterizeth some of the worst Men, and vilest Hereticks of that Age, he describes them by this infallible Mark of infamous Criminals, *That they despise Dominion, and speake evil of Dignities*, v. 8. Yet further, God doth not only restrain from doing and speaking evil, but also from thinking evil of the King, Eccl. 10. 20. *Curse not the King, no, not in thy thought.* If we must not curse him, we must not curb him: if we must not wish him any harm, we must not destroy him. And 'tis a received Rule for the Interpretation of all Scripture Prohibitions of sin, *That when any sin is expressly forbidden the contrary Duty is implicitly commanded.* When therefore we are forbid to speak evil of the King, we are commanded to speak honourably of him: And when we are forbid to curse him, we are commanded to bless him. That is, to acknowledge his Excellency, magnifying him *as worth ten thousand of us*, 2 Sam. 18. 3. pray for his welfare, crying out, *God save the King?* 1 Sam. 10. 24. 2 Sam. 16. 16. 2 Kings 11. 12. 2 Chron. 23. 11. and to minister to him in all Offices of well-doing for him to the utmost of our Power, saying with Mephibosheth, *Let them take all, that the King may be at his House in Peace*, 2 Sam. 19. 30. and answerably, we are commanded *not to meddle with them that are given to change*, Pro. 24. 21. that is, with seditious spirited Men, who affect to make innovations in Matters of Government, to the Disturbance of the King's Peace. And if we must not break the King's Peace, I'm sure we must not break his Head, much less his Heart; and destroy him quite out of the Way by Insurrections and Rebellions upon any Pretence whatsoever.

Sect. 51. 3. Because such a Resistance is directly contrary to that peaceable mindedness, which the Christian Religion requires from all that embrace and profess it. The *Wisdom that is from above is peaceable as well as pure*, Jam. 3. 17. the Christian Religion which maketh wise unto salvation, makes all that partake of it lovers of peace and haters of contention, and strictly and strongly obligeth them to pursue the one and shun the other. It commands us to *study to be quiet*, 1 Thes. 4. 11. *to follow Peace with all Men*, Heb. 12. 14. *and if it be possible, and as much as in us lieth to live peaceably with all Men*, Rom. 12. 18. *to pray that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives*, 1 Tim. 2. 2. if there are therefore any busie-bodies amongst us, Religion doth not employ them: if there be Controversies, Schisms and Rebellions amongst us, Religion doth not raise or grant indulgences to them: if there be contentions and warrings, Religion doth not blow the Trumpet or beat up the Drum, foment and encourage them, but engageth all its Powers to set up as a Bulwork against them a quite contrary disposition to them, and where they prevail, they destroy all those affections and lusts which incline and irritate to wars and fightings, Gal. 5. 19, to 25. and will allow nothing to be done through strife and vain glory, Phil. 2. 3. yea further, the Christian Religion is so far from countenancing a violent Resistance of injurious Superiours, that it forbids a vindictive Resistance of equals, Mat. 5. 38. *ye have heard (saith our Saviour) that it hath been said, an Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth: but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil (that is in the Apostles words, that ye render not evil for evil, 1 Thes. 5. 15.) but who-*

Joever shall smite thee on the right Cheek, turn to him the other also; the Mosaical Religion was so rigorous, that it did admit a Retaliation: And the Jewish Doctors affirmed, that a Private Man might revenge himself, provided, his revenge taken were but equally proportioned to the Injury received. But the Evangelical Dispensation condemneth this severity, and softens all that submit to it into such meekness, gentleness, patience and forbearance, that they readily prefer a quiet Submission to an Injury before a passionate Execution of Revenge, and will take two blows rather than retaliate one, suffer the greatest wrong rather than do the least, part with their Clokes as well as their Coats, remit their Rights rather than use their Liberty as a cloke of Maliciousness to implead before the Magistrate, and if they are compelled to go a Mile beyond their proportion and legal share, they will go two, rather than contend and resist, yea, they will go as far as the Shoes of the Preparation of the Gospel of Peace can carry them, *Mat. 5. 39, 40, 41.* and the contrary Practice of the forward and litigious *Corinthians* was smartly reprehended by the Apostle, *1 Cor. 6. 5, 6, 7.* *there is utterly a Fault among you, because ye go to Law one with another: why do ye not rather take wrong? Why do ye not rather suffer your selves to be defrauded?* And he tells them that he spake this to their shame. And good reason they had to be ashamed of it, for wrathful, malicious and revengeful Prosecutions are most directly contrary to the Spirit, Scope and Design of Christianity which consists in self-denial, taking up of the Cross, patience, meekness, mutual forbearance, loving our Enemies, blessing them that curse us, doing good to them that hate us, praying for them that despitefully use us, forgiving trespasses against us, and overcoming evil with good. And as we are to agree with our Adversaries and forgive them, so we are to do all we can to bring others to the same temper and communion with us in this case; and therefore the Peace-makers as well as the meek and peaceable are blessed, *Mat. 5. 9.* *blessed are the Peace-makers, for they shall be called the Children of God,* and if Peace-makers are blessed, then Peace-breakers are cursed: and if Peace-makers shall be mentioned as the Children and Imitators of God, then Peace-breakers shall be mentioned as the Children and Imitators of the Devil.

Sect. 52. These things duly considered, I conceive, it may be warrantably concluded, that 'tis unlawful for Subjects in any case whatsoever to resist the Sovereign Power with armed Force. How so? If they ought not to be overcome of evil, must not be prevalingly provoked by the injurious deportments of Private Persons like themselves to avenge themselves, but must refer the Work of Vengeance to God and his Vice-gerents, to whom it alone belongs; then certainly they cannot be allowed to avenge themselves on their Rulers, who are Public Persons, and only have the Sovereign Right to the Sword of vindictive Justice. Where a lesser Power is forbidden, a greater cannot be allowed: he that hath not Liberty to Assault his Brother, cannot have a Commission to beat his Father or Rebel against his Prince: he that must not usurp the Sovereign Power against an equal or an inferior must not usurp it, to turn it against the Sovereign himself. If this were allowed, Sovereign Powers would be the most despicable Subjects in the World, they would be exposed to those revenges from which all the rest of Mankind are exempted. The Apostle tells us, *Jam. 1. 20.* *that the wrath of Man, worketh not the righteousness of God,* that is, under what disguises soever the vindictive Wrath of Man appeareth, it never executeth any part of Justice which God requireth or approveth, but worketh all manner of evil. *For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work, Jam. 3. 16.* *for he loveth transgression that loveth strife,* *Pro. 17. 19.* and he will surely do what he loveth to do.

Sect. 53. 4. Because such a Resistance is utterly destructive to that Passive Obedience, Christianity exacts from us to the higher Powers. 'Tis evident, that we owe Passive as well as Active Obedience to the higher Powers. Where there is a Sovereign Power, there is a Power of Life and Death: and the Subjects are equally obliged to submit to it in both respects. When God gave Nebuchadnezzar a Kingdom and Majesty-- for the Majesty that he gave him all People---trembled and feared before him. Whom he would, he slew, and whom he would, he kept alive: and whom he would, he set up: and whom he would, he pulled down, Dan. 5. 18, 19. and all Sovereign Princes and States in the World, partake of the like Authority and Power, and their Subjects ought to own and submit themselves thereunto. Fear being the most Commodious Instrument of Civil Government, the Observation of Human Laws is ordinarily enforced with greater or lesser Penalties, as best subserve their several Ends and Uses. If therefore the directive Part of the Law be violated, the Penal is to be executed on the Transgressor. And it sometimes happens, that Rulers which ought to be a terrour to Evil Works, are on the contrary, a terrour to Good Works. For by enacting Laws contrary to the Law of God, they repute those Traitors to their King, who are Loyal to their God, and condemn the Just whom God justifieth; and having as much Power to punish the violation of Laws as to enact them, their Subjects are bound to submit thereunto without Resistance. And though this be an abuse of their Power, and they have no warranty from God for it, yet 'tis their own Power they abuse, and their Subjects must suffer it, and can pretend to no right by armed Force to resist and redress it, because there cannot be a lawful Superiour Power to that which is Supream. Now in such a Case when we durst not yield and perform an active Obedience in doing what is commanded, because such a Submission to Man is a Rebellion against God, we must yield and perform a Passive Obedience, in submitting patiently and quietly to the punishment inflicted, because such a Submission to Man is a Resignation of our selves to God, and a partaking with Jesus Christ as our Fore-runner in his sufferings, which the Apostle expressly calls *suffering as a Christian*, 1 Pet. 4. 16.

Sect. 54. If any Man suffer as a Murderer, or a Thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busy-body in other Mens Matters, he suffers for that which the Magistrate is bound to punish: and what glory is it, if when ye are buffeted for your faults, ye take it patiently? Alas! there is nothing Heroically great and singular in such a kind of suffering, nothing peculiar to the Spirit of a Christian, nothing of special reference to an imitation of the innocent Jesus in the Ground and manner of his sufferings, who from a Principle of self-denial took up his Cross, and meerly from a Conscientious Submission to the appointment of his Father, gave himself into the Hands of the higher Powers to be dealt withal as they pleased. When a Man suffers no more than what he deserves and common Justice requires, there is nothing of commendation or gloriation in it: but if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. And this is thank-worthy, if a Man for Conscience towards God endure grief, suffering wrongfully, 1 Pet. 2. 19, 20. and ch. 4. 15. he suffers only as a Christian who suffers wrongfully for well-doing; and then follows Christ's steps in conforming to the Manner of his sufferings, when his sufferings are a probation to his patience; but no provocation to his revenge, will not defend himself from an unjust punishment, by an undutiful Resistance.

Sect. 55. 'Tis to be considered by every Christian, That Jesus Christ was sent into the World and dwelt amongst us, to be the Example of our Religion, as well as the Teacher of it. And there is such an exact concordance betwixt his Doctrine and Practice, that the latter is a Practical Demonstration of God's determinate and unchangeable Method of dispensing eternal life and glory to the Children of Men. As Christ was brought to glory, so must they and no otherwise. Rom. 8. 29, 30. for whom he [God] did fore-know [fore-ap-

proved and fore-acknowledged for his] *he also did predestinate* [fore-appointed according to the Purport of the Gospel] *to be conformed to the Image of his Son, that he might be the first Born amongst many Brethren.* Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called : and whom he called them he also justified : and whom he justified, them he also glorified. In which Words is represented the Method, Order and Degrees of God's Decrees, Dispensations and Transactions for the Effecting of our Salvation according to the Terms of the Gospel ; and they shew the inviolable connexion betwixt God's acceptance of us, as objects of his special love and our conformity unto Christ : and that according to the immutable ordination of God, who-soever answers the Call of the Gospel, and obtains justification and glorification according to the Purport and Tenour of it, he must resemble Christ in his doings and sufferings. And this is likewise the express Doctrine of Christ himself, Mat. 16. 24. *If any Man will come after me, let him take up his Cross and follow me.* No wearing of a Crown with him, but by bearing his Cross after him, Luke 26. 16. *ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter [so and upon such Terms] into his glory ?* And our way of entrance thereinto is the same, Luke. 22. 29. *therefore I appoint unto you a Kingdom [after the same manner and upon the same Terms] as my Father hath appointed unto me.* And is it not enough for the Disciple to be as his Master, and for the Servant as his Lord, Mat. 10. 15. can we reasonably expect greater honours, exemptions and priviledges than our Lord and Master had ? And may we not be well enough contented to be allowed admittance into the Kingdom of Heaven the same way with him ? This is the Evangelical stated way of Salvation, and to a Conformity hereunto are all Christians called : because Christ also suffered for them, leaving them an example, that they should follow his steps, 1 Pet. 2. 21. *who when he was oppressed and afflicted opened not his Mouth : when he was reviled, reviled not again : but was brought as a Lamb to the Slaughter, and as a Sheep before her Shavers is dumb, so open'd he not his Mouth,* Isa. 53. 7. Acts. 8. 32. 1 Pet. 21. 23. and as he restrained himself from evil words as well as blows against the higher Powers, so must we : and however Tyrannically the higher Powers abuse their Office and Authority, acknowledge with him *that their Power is given them from above,* Joh. 19. 11. and submit thereunto without Resistance as to the Appointment of God, saying with him, *the Cup which my Father hath given me shall I not drink it,* Joh. 18. 11 ? Who calleth the most harmless Christians sometimes thus to suffer for well doing from the higher Powers, but never to a violent Resistance of them.

Sett. 56. You cannot but well know, and I would also have you to consider well the Case of *Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego* and *Daniel*, who when they were prohibited to pray to the living God, and commanded to Worship dead Idols by the Heathenish Persecutors of God's Church, though they utterly refused to yield an Active Obedience to their commands, yet they yielded a Passive Obedience to their Sovereign Powers without repining, reviling or opposing : yea, they prayed for them and blessed them, Dan. 6. 21. Which is an Argument, that they did not believe, that any persecutions, injurious usages or oppressions from the Sovereign Powers, could exempt or discharge them from subjection to them, and warrant a destructive Resistance of them : and though their sufferings were in their Circumstances unavoidable, and they really wanted sufficient Strength to redress and help themselves, against the overpowering Force of their Persecutors and Oppressors, yet the manner of their submission thereunto plainly declared, that they accounted themselves as appointed, and called of God by a suffering Condition to bear witness to his Truth ; and to demonstrate to the World, that suffering was better and more eligible than sinning ; and to give a Proof, that they did not believe, that God did authorize and allow any of his Servants to threaten, reproach, revile or resist their Rulers how hardly, injuriously, and cruelly soever they are treated by them, but requires them to reverence their Persons, acknowledge

their Authority, and patiently to submit to their Power when 'tis exercised to the utmost Evil to them.

Sect. 57. And this Gospel-Call to a quiet and patient Submission, to the injurious infliction of punishment from the Higher Powers is, was, and ever will be a Vindication of the Christian Religion from the false and scandalous Imputations charged on it by its Enemies and Persecutors, who do, did, and will reproach it as an Engine contrived and designed for the Disturbance and Subversion of Civil Empires and Dominions: Both Jews and Gentiles traduced Jesus Christ, as no Friend to *Cæsar*, represented his Doctrine as dangerous to the State, *Joh 19. 12.* and reputed the Gathering of Churches, the Dissolution of Kingdoms, or in their own Words, *a turning of the World upside down*, *Acts 17. 6.* That is, an inversion of Order, a pulling down of Rulers, and the setting up of Subjects in their room: which Stratagem was, and may be marvellously successful to bring the Christian Religion into disgrace with the Civil Powers, who are ever very watchful to endeavour to their utmost, to reject and suppress all those Doctrines which they suspect to be prejudicial and destructive to their Authority and Government: and, how can this slanderous Imputation to the Christian Religion, be more effectually confuted than by the patient Deportments of Christian Subjects under their Tyrannical Governours, when they have strength enough to resist them and can, but will not, for Conscience sake, towards Christ Jesus as their Teacher and Leader?

Sect. 58. The Christians of the first and purest Ages, were not such a fierce and military sort of Men, so addicted to unpeaceable and seditious Factions, riotous Tumults, rebellious Insurrections and bloody Warrings, against the Higher Powers, as some called Christians, and they which stile themselves *the godly Party* of them too are in our times: For Three hundred and forty Years after Christ, there cannot be an instance given of any number of Christians, how injuriously soever dealt withal, that ever made a forcible Resistance against the Higher Powers, or were found in a Conspiracy to depose them, though those they lived under, were sometimes the worst of Men and bitterest Persecutors of the best Religion. *Origen* tells *Celsus*, who inveighed against Christianity it self from a pretence that Christians were no Friends to the Civil Powers, that he could discover *ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑξ ὧν, no act of Sedition among them*, how much soever provoked by their Persecutors: and, that this peaceable and patient Submission to Sufferings for their Religion, did not proceed from the want of strength to oppose their Persecutors, but from Conscience of Obedience, and Conformity to the Doctrine and Example of Christ is manifest from the Writings of the Fathers, who lived in the first Ages of the Church. *Tertullian* tells the Roman Emperor and Senate, *that if the Christians would act the part of open Enemies to them, they did not want Numbers and Armies. We have filled (saith he) your Cities, Isles, Castles, Camps, &c. and though our Numbers were unequal, yet, for what War should we be unfit, who can so readily lay down our lives, if our Religion did not require us rather to dye than to draw our Swords to kill others?* and *St. Cyprian* Writing to the Proconsul of *Asia*, acquaints him, *That though the Christians were very numerous, yet they would not endeavour to revenge themselves against the unjust Violence of their Persecutors:* And *Maximus* the Emperor, who was a great Persecutor of the Christian Profession, in his Epistle to *Sabinus*, recorded by *Eusebius*, saith, *That almost all Men had left the Worship of the Roman Gods, and joined themselves to the Christians:* And 'tis evident, that *Julian* the Emperor, who was an *Apostate* from Christianity, and used his Wit to the utmost to restore *Paganism*, had an Army which mostly consisted of Christians, who were subject to him, not so much for fear of Wrath as for Conscience sake.

Seet. 59. And in truth, If the Apostles did Command the first Christians *to be subject to the Roman Higher Powers, as ordained of God over them; and not to resist them, because in so doing, they would resist the Ordinance of God; and incur the Guilt of Damnation: but to submit for the Lord's sake; and that they must needs be subject not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake; for so was the Will of God;* and yet allow them to take up Arms against them, when they had strength enough to make their party good, would undermine the Simplicity of the Gospel, and by a crafty Pretence of Religion and Conscience, carry on a politic Design to weaken the temporal Powers of the World, and to advance their own Followers to greater advantages of Numbers and Strength; and therefore, such Insinuations of some Popish and Fanatick Authors, are to be abhorred as defamatory to the Design of Christianity: for such Collusion was far from their intention; their plain meaning was, that Christians ought to suffer quietly and patiently as Christ himself did, without resistance for well-doing, as became a Self-denying People to do, who had learned a suffering Religion from a suffering Master and Saviour, which required their Submission in all things to the Will of God, and gave them no warranty from their Rulers abuse of Power to dispense with their Duties to their Rulers (it being equally as unlawful for the Subject to exauctorate, depose and usurp Power over his Sovereign, as 'tis for his Sovereign unjustly to punish him) and exacteth their Obedience for Christ's sake to their Governours, which being conscientiously performed, is a *well-doing that puts to silence the Ignorance of foolish Men*, as the Apostle speaks, *1 Pet. 2. 15.* That is, doth silence such as pretend Exemptions and Priviledges against the Obligations and Interests of Obedience; and such as accuse Christians as Enemies to Civil Government, who when they cannot do what is commanded as they pretend, will not suffer, if they can resist, what is inflicted: So that, the Practice of Passive Obedience, is acting the part of a Christian, and not the part of a Vassal or Slave or Enthusiast, as some affect to speak, and a Justification of the peaceable Design of the Gospel, and a Vindication of the genuine Spirit of a Christian: And hence I do infer,

Seet. 60. Then, they that pretend Religion to excuse or justify themselves in traitorous Conspiracies and Rebellions, blaspheme Religion, and pervert it to quite contrary purposes, than those it was designed for, and it naturally and properly tends unto: what ever Inferences and Conclusions, seditious and ungovernable minded Men may make from the Evangelical Doctrine, 'tis in it self, and the Design of the Author thereof, subservient and plyable to no purposes destructive or prejudicial to the Security and Ends of Civil Government, or of their Persons, who have the Management and Administration thereof: they therefore that apply that Passage in the Virgin Marys Song, *He hath shewed strength with his Arm, he hath scattered the Proud in the Imagination of their heart: He hath put down the Mighty from their seats, and hath exalted them of low degree, Luk. 1. 51, 52.* to countenance and encourage themselves, to renounce and reject a State of legal Subjection and Servitude, as they term it, and to assume the State of Empire and Government, as if called thereunto by their Christian Profession, and strengthen themselves therein from that of the Apostle, *1 Cor. 7. 21, 22, 23.* *Art thou called, being a Servant? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free use it rather: for he that is called in the Lord, is the Lord's Free-man: likewise also, he that is called being free, is Christ's Servant: Ye are bought with a Price, be ye not the Servants of Men:* Do wrest the Scriptures, and transfer them from a spiritual and heavenly Intendment to a carnal and diabolical One: For by what Rule of Interpretation of Scripture do these Scriptures signify, that by Christ, the Civil Governments of the World are dissolved, and Subjects and Servants are recovered to their natural Rights and Liberties, as they speak, and they are no longer under an Obligation, to submit themselves to the tyrannical and oppressing Powers of the World, but may deliver themselves by resistance as soon as they have strength

strength enough for it? because God sometimes magnifieth his Power in pulling down and setting up whom he pleaseth; are we authorized to pull down our Superiors and to set up our selves? because Christ hath redeemed us, and made us Free-men of his spiritual Kingdom, doth this warrant us to make our selves the Lords and Masters of the World? because we must not subject our selves to serve Mens Lusts and Vices, must we not therefore submit our selves to their legal Authority and Power? because a State of civil Freedom is more eligible than a State of Bondage, 'tis better to be at our own disposal and liberty, than to be in servitude and confined to the Will of another, are we therefore to effect and endeavour to be above the Check and Controulment of the Sovereign Powers? cannot Men be Masters of themselves, but they must be Masters of their Superiors too? 'tis remarkable how very differently sincere and hypocritical Christians argue from the Principle under Consideration; because 'tis said, *That Christians are made free by Christ*, Joh. 8. 36. and therefore, every Christian Servant is the Lord's Free-man, 1 Cor. 7. 22. therefore some hypocritical Christians conclude themselves licensed, to cast off all Subjection and Obedience to Magistrates and Masters, and to live as discharged from all Conscience of Duty to them, though by their present Circumstances constrained and necessitated externally to perform it: but on the contrary part, sincere Christians, *obey Governours as free, but as servants of the Lord*, 1 Pet. 2. 16. Serve the Lord in obeying their Governours; submit themselves the one for Conscience sake to the other, the highest Engagement and strongest Bond of Obedience that can be.

Sect. 61. I appeal to all considering Men, if it be reasonable to believe, that since Jesus Christ came not into the World to *destroy the Law, but to fulfill it*, Mat. 5. 17. That is, not to evacuate or relax any moral Duty, but by his Doctrine and Example to fill up and re-inforce the Authority and obliging Power thereof; and to commend his quiet and patient Submission, to the injurious Affronts and destructive Violence of the Higher Powers, as a Pattern for us to conform unto and imitate, 1 Pet. 2. 21. I say this considered, is it credible that he hath cancelled the Obligation of any moral Duty by his death to his Followers, and discharged them from *Non-Resistance* of the Higher Powers, when they are too strong for them?

Sect. 62. But since 'tis generally confessed, that the moral Law is of universal and immutable Obligation, of which the fifth Commandment is a Part, and expressly requires us to Honour our Governours, as all will acknowledge, how comes it to pass, that the Duty of this Commandment should be released or relaxed rather than of any other? Is not the Observation of this Commandment of as much account with God as the Observation of the rest? Is not the Honour of God, and the Safety of human Societies, as much concern'd in the keeping of it now as formerly? why then should Christians be more limited in the Terms of their Subjection to the Higher Powers, and less restrained from resisting them than the *Jewish Nation*, when 'twas govern'd by Rulers of God's own immediate Appointment? The Authority, Necessity, Ends and Reasons of it are still the same, and how comes it to pass, that the Nature, Grounds and Reasons of Subjection and Obedience are alter'd? and the Pretenders to the Management of the Scepter of Christ must command and dispose that of the King? If Conscience as God's Vicegerent must not be forced, so neither must the King, *who represents* (as my Lord Coke tells us) *God's own Person*. Why should not God's Ordinance be as irresistible in the one as in the other? the one hath as great a Supremacy over us, without us, as the other within us?

Sect. 63. Moreover, if we are to be guided and governed by the positive Laws and Constitutions of our own Country, as proper Rules and Measures to determine and limit our Allegiance and Obedience, then, *'tis not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up*

*Arms against the King ; and we are to abhor that Traitorous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him ; as 'tis Stat. 14. Ch. 2. And since (saith Grotius on Mat. 26. 52.) there is no Man that doth not favour himself, if it be once admitted, that private Men being injuriously dealt withall by the Magistrate, may repel force with force, all places will be full of Tumults ; the Authority of Laws and Judicatures will be null and void. And in his *Votum pro pace*, ad Art. 16. He affirms, that Subjects ought by no means to resist their King or Prince by force ; or ought they to take either offensive or defensive Arms against their King or Prince for the Cause of Religion, or for any other cause whatsoever ; and further affirms, that no Government can be any longer safe than whilst those who have such Sentiments want strength : And, how Men that are for resisting the Higher Powers can expect to be owned as Friends to Government, and presume on any Trust or Favour from the Administrators thereof, I cannot imagine. I shall conclude this with the Affirmation of the Church of England in her fourth part of her *Homily against willful Rebellion* ; God alloweth neither the Dignity of any Person, nor the Multitude of any People, nor the Weight of any Cause, as sufficient for the which Subjects may move Rebellion against their Princes.*

Sect. 64. I am not altogether ignorant of the Reasonings of some discontented and interested Men, to plead for the lawfulness of resisting the Higher Powers with armed Force in some cases : and perhaps, it may be expected, that I should engage my self in the solemn Examination and Confutation of them : But having proved from divine Revelation, that God hath forbidden it, I may warrantably say to every such Reasoner, as the Apostle in another case alike, depending on the Sovereign Authority of God, Rom. 9. 20. *Nay, but Oh Man, who art thou that repliest against God?* Shall not God govern the World as he pleaseth ? hath he not an absolute and unaccountable Power, to impart after what manner and measure he judgeth fit his own Sovereign Authority and Power to his Vicegerents ? and if God do not limit and restrain the Extent of their Authority and Power, who shall ? we frequently find Jesus Christ and his Apostles endeavouring to impress on Mens Consciences a quick Sense of their Obligations, to yield Subjection and Obedience to the Higher Powers, but never determining or limiting the manner of obtaining their Titles, or the Righteousness of their Prerogatives and Rights, or their way of administering and executing them : which I take to be a plain Intimation, that the Welfare of Mankind, and the Safety of all Societies depends on the dutiful and peaceable Deportment of the governed part thereof, and that Subjects are principally concerned : Conscientiousness to attend their own Duties, and to leave the Menageries of the governing part of that Community to which they belong to the over-ruling Providence of God, to whose Superintendency and Controulment they are only obnoxious. However, that you may be assured, that I do not think their Arguments unanswerable, I shall with all faithfulness to the best of my skill, propound them, and then confute them.

Sect. 65. 'Tis objected, That all Men being equal by Nature, every Man is born free, and exempted from Subordination : Wherefore, Civil Society and Government must proceed only from a Compromise or Contract, by which Governours and Governed stand mutually obliged to each other, according as it is provided by their Agreement or Contract ; and consequently, the Subjects Liberty is no further restrained than was limited by the Contract : and if it be questioned how far the Prerogative and Power of the Ruling part extends, that must be proved, but Liberty will prove it false : and if the Higher Powers fail in Faithfulness and Justice on their parts, the Contract is violated and null, and the Subjects are absolved from their Allegiance, and may resist and depose them.

Ans. Although, what hath been occasionally already said, concerning the Original of the Authority and Power of Sovereign Princes be a sufficient Amulet against; and confutation of this Objection, yet because it is a very popular One, and therefore in great reputation with too many amongst us, I will endeavour in divers particulars to evince the Vanity and Weakness of it.

Sett. 66. 1. This Objection presumes Mankind in a State of meer Nature, which is a meer Figment. Had all the People in the World their Beings and Existences immediately from God, by Creation, these Men would in appearance have some warrant to affirm, that all Men are equal by Nature, and free from a Subordination to each other: but since all the People (except *Adam* and *Eve*) naturally descend from Parents, and so depend on them respectively to their Generation and Preservation, it is so far from being certain, that every Man is born free [*i.e.* exempted from a Condition of Subjection to a Superior] that 'tis most certain, no Man ever was or can be so free-born; because every Man as born of a Woman is naturally under the paternal Dominion: and if the fifth Commandment be not a moral Law and a prime Dictate of Nature, I know not what Law is so: Although *Eve* had not as great a Dependence on *Adam* for her Being and Existence as Children have on their natural Parents, there being an immediate and supernatural Interposure of the divine Power to her production, yet the Apostle argues the Reasonableness of the Womans Subordination from thence, and the Order and End of her Creation, 1 Cor. 17. 7, 8, 9. an essential equality therefore doth not infer antecedently to all Contracts and superinduced legal Provisions an exemption from Subordination: 'Tis true, a Woman now becomes a Man's Wife by her own Consent, yet her Subjection to her Husband is from the divine Ordination and the Law of her Creation, and that is to be the formal Reason and Motive of her Obedience, *Eph.* 5. 22. as soon as there was more than one Person in the World, it was God's expresse Ordinance, that there should be a Subordination, *Gen.* 3. 16. And certainly, *Adam's* Dominion over his Children had the same Sanction with that over his Wife: and as every Man now hath the same Dominion *Adam* originally had over his Wife, as the Apostle proves, 1 Cor. 14. 34. *Eph.* 5. 22, 23. so every Man hath the same Dominion over his Children *Adam* originally had, the same Right and Reason of Dominion being derived to his Posterity: And such is the Propriety of Parents in their Children and Dominion over them, that they could with God's Approbation, as well as political Constitution, sell and transfer them into the Possession and under the Dominion of others, *Exod.* 21. 7. *Neb.* 5. 2, and 8. beside this,

Sett. 67. 'Tis very evident, That a Subordination among Men is from the Dictate of Nature; and not meerly from the Arbitrary pacts of Men: for what more natural to us, than to incline unto, and endeavour our own safety, quiet and comfort? and what means more absolutely necessary to obtain it, than a friendly and peaceable Society and converse with our Neighbours? and what more indispensably necessary to render Society and Converse friendly and peaceable, sweet and comfortable, safe and happy than Order and Government? and therefore it must be natural and reasonable for every Man to submit himself to Order and Government as his Duty and Interest: for though Nature do not dictate and determine who individually (except in the Cases of the paternal and marital Dominion) shall be actually invested with, and exercise Sovereign Authority in a Society or Community, yet it obligeth to a Subordination, as having the most natural and proper Tendency to secure the Welfare of Mankind, and to establish every Community in Safety and Happiness, and to procure and maintain among Men mutual Benevolence and Confidence: they cannot by nature be free and at liberty, whether they will be subject to Government or not, who are by nature inclined to Society, and obliged to maintain the Ends of Government, mutual Defence and Preservation, Order and Peace.

Sett. 68. 2. *Adam* by divine Sanction, being invested with Dominion over his Children, this by divine prescription was continued in actual exercise, not only Oeconomically but politically in the Fatherhood of his posterity to the Flood, and from thence to the Confusion of Language at *Babel*: and when *Noah's* Posterity was scattered abroad upon the face of all the Earth, and the Encrease of particular Families was so numerous, that they enlarged and spread into whole Nations, so that, partly by the Confusion of Languages, and partly by their own carelessness, and partly from the just Judgment of God, it was not discoverable where the original and principal Right of paternal Dominion was lodged, God by his gracious Providence so order'd it, that the Paternal Government was transferr'd into Regal, we now find the least Intimation in the Scriptures, that the People either diffusively, collectively, or representatively taken, were anyway concerned in the transferring or conveyance of governing Power, or that they had, or made any pretension of a Right to it: and if it be not utterly incredible, yet it cannot but be somewhat wonderful, that every Man being born to an equal freedom from Subjection, and nothing could be made a Property to any Person without every Man's Consent, that Government should be established in all Parts of the World, as we find it was, and no representation made of the concurrent Consent of the People to it, if they were the only Original Founders and Erectors of it.

Sett. 69. I would have these Men, who so earnestly contend, that all governing Power is originally equal in all and alike, derived from the Consent of the whole People, to consider, if this be not a direct way to bring Confusion all the World over; for by the Law of Nature, the habitable World is not distinguished into several Communities, and canton'd into Kingdoms or Commonwealths, but every Man hath indifferently a Right to one part of the World as well as to another, and is no more determined to this Kingdom or Community than to that; and consequently, there can be no Government but by Usurpation in no part of the World, without every Man's Consent that is in the World: one Man cannot alienate and surrender another's Right without his Consent: Where every Man is equally free, if every Man do not equally concur to the Limitation or Resignation of it, the Freedom of particulars, without Usurpation, will still remain entire: So that, the Inhabitants of *England, France, Spain, &c.* have no more right to determine of Governours, Proprieties and Liberties of their respective Countries than the Inhabitants of the *East or West-Indies* have, because by the Law of Nature they have an equal Right unto and Freedom in these Countries. But suppose, that the Inhabitants of particular Countries have sufficient Power to chuse and establish what Government amongst them they please, yet this Principle supposed, that all are equal by Nature, and every Man is free born, it will follow, that as the Inhabitants of any Country are changed, so there will be likewise answerably a Right and Power to change and alter the Governours and Government thereof: and every hour a Variation being produced by the Births of some and Deaths of others, there will be in all Countries in the World, especially very populous Ones, a Right in many Persons to withhold subjection from the present Higher Powers, and to advance others in their room, or else to remain Lords and Masters of themselves: if it be said, that the Choice and Contract of the Ancestry bind their Posterity, and Fathers and Masters conclude their respective Families, this plainly confutes the Principle contended for, because by Nature there is neither Non-age, Subjection, or Servitude, but the whole Race of Mankind hath equal Rights and Liberties: Or if it be said, that the Major part of the People is virtually the Whole, or a considerable part of them meeting with no opposition presume the Whole, it falls under the like Exceptions with the former; for if these had Authority to conclude the rest, they were not their Equals but Superiors, and could without their consent limit them in their natural Rights and Freedoms, which overthrows these Mens beloved Cause: This I hope

hope is a sufficient Discovery of the mischievous Consequences of the aforementioned Principle to the Safety of all settled Governments in the World.

Sect. 70. 3. Although there are sometimes Agreements and Contracts betwixt Sovereign Princes and their Subjects, by which they become mutually obliged to each other, and the Subjects have their Rights, Proprieties and Priviledges as well as Princes their Prerogatives and Preheminencies, and none are more strongly bound to perform their Agreements and Covenants than Sovereign Princes, not only from Motives of Piety and Justice, but also from Reasons of State, because the conscientious and strict Observation of them prevents or eradicates all those jealous Fears, which ordinarily arise from their Subjects apprehensions of a Power they have to wrong them, creates in them a mighty Esteem and Veneration of them, strong and vigorous Affections to them, a clear and stedfast Confidence in them, and renders them courageous, resolute, stedfast and chearful in their Adherence and Obedience to them; yet the Existence of their Sovereignty depends not on it, because that which cannot escheat to a Superior is not forfeitable. *Unumquodq; dissolvitur eo modo quo contrahitur*, saith our Law. Now, as it is God alone which *sets up Kings, and gives them Kingdoms*, Dan. 2. 21, 27. Prov. 8. 15. Jer. 27. 5, 6. So 'tis God alone, that can dethrone and *take Kingdoms from them*, 1 Sam. 28. 18. for as Sovereign Princes judge not for Men, but *for the Lord*, 2 Chr. 19. 6. so neither can they be judged by Men, but by God only, and 'tis his peculiar to execute Vengeance on them for evil doing, Rom. 12. 19. and as their Power of Life and Death was only from God, so it is God only who gave it to them can take it from them.

Sect. 71. The Supreme Sovereign Power is a simple undivided Thing, and can be but one: for as in the natural, so in the political Body, there must be only one common Principle of action: it must be one Sovereign Will, guided by one directive Judgment, assisted by one Power of the Sword, which is invested with all the legislative, judicial and executive Authority of every Community, or else there can be no certain regular Administration of Affairs amongst them: And consequently, as the Sovereignty hath no Superior, so it can have no equal. A conditional Sovereignty is indeed none at all: a conditional King is only the Pageant of a King, a meer titular nominal King, one in appearance officially a King, but divested of the Authority and Power proper to it: and the Reason is evident, because he is a Subject to a Superior Power, and is disposed of at anothers Will and Pleasure: and he that is subordinated cannot be supreme: who but our Superior can prescribe and impose upon us Conditions and Measures of having, holding and exercising governing Power, and exauctorate and punish us for Non-observance and Disobedience to them? but some Mens Brains are so impregnated with Ideas of Bargains and Contracts, that they will have all Authority and Subjection to depend upon them, and all the relative Duties of Princes and People to be measured and determined by them, as if God and Nature had made no provision for the Safety and Happiness of Mankind without them.

Sect. 72. 4. That no more Authority and Power is to be claimed and exercised by Sovereign Princes than can proved, and that the Liberty of the Subject proves it self, doth not only imply, that all Authority and Power is from mutual Contracts and Agreements, but also according to the Judgment of such Men, that all Authority and Power is radically and originally in every single Person: and therefore I take it to be a most groundless and prodigious Presumption: If *Power must always be proved, but Liberty proves it self*, the Case of the Sovereign is very lamentable and despicable; for how is Power to be proved? by what Evidence? by the Princes own Testimony, or by the Testimony of the Subject? I know of no Medium; and 'tis probable, partiality will be pretended, and what is to be done then? then Might must be Right; and then the Prince must to the Wall. Ay, but there is ano-

ther way of proving Power, and that is by the Fundamental Charter, the Original *Magna Charta*, which was by the mutual Agreement and Contract of Prince and People, made and established when the Government was at first formed and constituted: But, what if the very Being of such a Thing be questioned, how will it be proved? I am apt to believe the Sovereign Prince of *England*, as well as of other Dominions, may search all the days of their lives, and not be able to discover when, or where such a Charter ever was in Being? but suppose there were such a Charter; who shall be the Interpreter of it, and judge how far the Power of the Prince extends it self? and during the Dispute, how shall the Government be administred? doth not this in effect authorize the Subjects to do at pleasure what is right in their own eyes? for if they demur against the Prince's Power, he is to act at his peril: But on the other side, the Subject stands on a firm Bottom; for his Liberty proves it self: this is a Self-evident Principle, and when the Subjects pretend it, the Sovereign Powers durst not contradict and contest it; for in this case, every Subject (if it be not a Contradiction so to speak) is a Sovereign, because so far as his liberty is not expressly given away, it always remains entire: The Sovereigns Power is originally from the Subject: but the Subjects Liberty originally from himself: the Princes Power is derived from the Subjects Will: but the Subjects Liberty from his Nature: And, woe to that Prince who shall violate and usurp on the Laws and Liberties of Nature.

Sect. 73. But if every Man by Nature equally partake of Sovereignty, then no body can be obliged to Subjection; for where all are equal, there can be no Subordination, neither Superiors nor Inferiors: and is not he a strange Supreme, who hath no body under him? Moreover, if it be so, then every Man is born in a State of Anarchy, and the God of Order hath sure no bounds to Mankind; the relative Duties of Superiors and Inferiors might never have had any foundation in Nature, and were only presumptively from Arbitrary Contracts and Agreements limited and determined by the Fifth Commandment; and not only every Nation, but every City, Town, Parish, Family may chuse what Government seems best to them, yea, every particular Person may live independently, if he will, altogether free from the Circumscriptions of all sorts of governed Societies: and if any attempt be made to restrain him without his consent he is oppressed in his natural Liberty: And, is not this Doctrine of a sovereign Tendency to maintain mutual Amity and Peace amongst Men?

Sect. 74. 5. That Subjects in political Monarchies, and under other Sovereign Powers have Rights, Immunities and Priviledges as unalienable Properties without their concurrent consent is very manifest, but these do not proceed from any Reservations made in a presumed fundamental Constitution, composed and ratified by a mutual Compact and Confederacy betwixt the Sovereign and Subjects, but from the Sovereign's Condescendous Acts of Grace, which having the Establishment and Security of his Laws, he cannot invade and violate without Injustice to his Subjects, dishonour to himself, provocation to God, loss of Reputation with his Allies and Confederates abroad, and exposing himself as a Person of no Faith: 'Tis well observed by *Fortescue*, that the Kingdom of *England* is not merely Regal or merely Politick, but partly Regal and partly Politick; *Regnum Angliæ, ex Bruti comitiva Trojanorum, in Dominium politicum & regale prorupit*; The Kingdom of *England*, out of Brutus his retinue of *Trojans* brake out into a politick and regal Dominion: And elsewhere tells us, *Rex Angliæ principatu, nedum regali, sed & politico, suo populo dominatur*; the King of *England* governeth his People, not only by a Regal but a politick Principality, *Ch. 9.* So that, though the King of *England* in some cases exercise an absolute and arbitrary Power like a despotick Prince; as in making War and Peace, Summoning, Adjourning, Proroguing and Dissolving of Parliaments, Coinage of Money, &c. Yet in other cases he exerciseth a bounded and

limited Power ; as in the imposition and repealing of Laws, Taxes and Levies of Money, &c. and therefore ought in Conscience to regard his Duty as a Politick King as well as his Power as a Despotick King : and such hath been the Moderation of the *English* Government hitherto, that it is acknowledged to be the most easy and safe of any in the World : These particulars being duly considered, I am confident the forementioned Objection is sufficiently answered, and no warrant can thence be taken for Subjects to resist with armed Force the Sovereign Powers.

Sect. 75. 2. Another Objection near of kin to the former, though in different words, to plead the Cause of Rebellion is this ; that all Real Majesty being only in the Community, all Personal Majesty is transfused or delegated from thence ; and consequently the Personal Majesty is nothing but a Trust accountable and forfeitable to the Community ; and therefore, if the Administrators of Sovereign Power abuse their Trust, they may not only be resisted but deposed. Upon this Ground it was, that the *Rebellious Lords and Commons*, when *King Charles the First* set up his Standard in the Defence of himself and the Government, adjudged it a *Breach of his Trust and Treason against the State and Kingdom*. And answerably one of their Advocates tell us, *That their Generals Commission to seize the King's Person was a strong Capias ut legatum*, a Judgment passed against him, as out of the Protection of the Kingdom and Aid of the Law. And in truth, granting what they suppose to be true, That the King was not the Officer of God but of the Community, received his Authority not from God but them, and made War against the Kingdom whose Trustee he was, and the inference seems to be rational. That Power which is derived from the Civil Constitution, being in an Hostile manner employed against it, or administred to dissolve and destroy it, is forfeited and lost, and those who were subjected to it absolved from their Allegiance.

Ans. Having represented this Objection in its full Strength to the best Advantage of the Patrons of it, I shall endeavour to assail it, and I doubt not, but I shall confute it to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced Person.

Sect. 76. By a Community, these Men understand not a Society of Men, actually consenting and formed into a public Government, but only a Society of Families and Vicinities voluntarily, rationally, and justly assembling and associating themselves from mutual benevolence in order to the common Good and Safety, thereby putting themselves into an immediate capacity of receiving a public Government under some Form or other, such as they themselves shall judge most expedient for them. Be it now considered, that

Sect. 77. 1. This pretended Real Majesty in the Community of a Multitude so associated, as hath been said, must either be the Product of the Law of Nature, or of some positive Law of God, or of some human Compact, or of some other Cause. I will reflect briefly on each of these, and if neither of them be assignable as the Ground, Reason, or Cause thereof, I shall be so bold as conclude, that 'tis a Platonical Idea which hath no existence.

1. There is no dictate of Nature which ascribes a greater Authority to a Multitude *as such*, than to one individual Person. Authority is no natural or moral property or adjunct of a Multitude *as such*, or *as so assembled*. A Multitude so associated, will partake of a greater Physical Power than a particular Person, but not of a greater Moral Power.

2. There is no divine Constitution for it. If God have by any supernatural Revelation ordained that so it must be, let that be evinced, and I will be thankful for the Information acknowledge my ignorance, and recant my Error. Though it be not a Truth in so many words expressed in the sacred Scriptures, nor plainly and palpably inferable from them, yet if it be but remotely and secretly insinuated in them, and only inferable and evincible by a close and diligent Engagement and exercise of the Understanding, Reason and Judgment, I shall with all faithfulness apply my self unto them for the Discovery thereof.

3. There is no human compact either expresse or implicate that can produce it. The Men leavened with this Principle laying great stress on Human Contracts and Agreements in all probability, will assign compact as the Ground or Cause of this pretended real Majesty. Now I think it is a very reasonable Request to desire them to inform us, what that compact is which produceth and constituteth this real Majesty? Or when the Multitude so associated did agree and contract, that collectively considered they should be the primary Subject of real Majesty or Sovereign Authority?

1. It could not before their association, for antecedently to that they were in a state of dispersion and could make no Confederacy.

2. This compact could not be made merely by their association; for their association in itself was not a compact, but a preparative disposition to it.

3. Neither could this compact be made after their association; for if it were so, then either before they actually formed themselves into a Governed Society, or else afterwards.

1. Not before they were actually formed into a Governed Society; because they who have no Governing Authority themselves, cannot delegate Governing Authority to others, nor impose Laws and punish the Violation of them, as the Objection supposeth the Community can do.

2. Not after they are actually formed into a Governed Society, because that essentially supposeth Subordination, and consequently *as such* cannot be that Community, which is the Subject of the real Majesty, pretended unto in the Objection; for liberty of Persons and equality of Members, are two inseparable adjuncts of that Community, as the Patrons of this Objection affirm. In every Governed Society *as such*, there is *Pars regens & Pars subdita*; and 'tis utterly incompatible with the Notion of a Governed Society, to conceive thereof abstractively from a subjected Part, and compounded only of Rulers. Which things premised considered, I shall conclude, that the real Majesty of a Community so termed in contradiction to the Personal Majesty of the Ruling Part, is a meer Figment of some sick brained Pretenders to the Politicks. For,

4. There can be no other cause assignable of a real Majesty, than those above mentioned; and therefore I believe 'tis a meer Figment.

Sec. 78. 2. This Hypothesis under consideration is not only irrational, but contradictory to its self; for it presumes, that the real Majesty of the Community, is an incommunicable property or right thereof, and yet that it is by paction and conditional donation transferred and delegated to some Member or Members thereof, and so constituted a Personal Majesty. The real Majesty of the Community, which is the essential Majesty, by a pactional Charter being transfused and derived to an individual Member, or some Members of the Community exists a Personal Majesty, which with what depends upon it in the Objection is evidently contradictory to its self. For, the real Majesty of the Community, must be incommunicable and still remain entire, or else the Personal Majesty cannot be subordinated to it, as an accountable and forfeitable Trust, as these Men tell us it is. And had not the real Majesty of the Community a distinct Being and Existence from Superintendency and Supremacy over the Personal Majesty, it could not exercise any judicative or executive Power over the Personal Majesty, as the Objectors suppose it may. How it should be transferred and delegated, and yet be incommunicable I cannot apprehend. If these Men will adventure to say, that the real Majesty of the Community is omnipotent, and creates the Personal Majesty at will and pleasure, and answerably can so annihilate it, they will say something, but yet nothing, but what is ridiculous as well as incredible.

Sect. 79. 3. This Doctrine of a Real Majesty in the Community, doth finally resolve it self into this Principle, That the major Part of every Community, is the Original and principal Subject of Royal Authority, and consequently may assume to themselves the Administration of all Government, whensoever they judge it necessary or expedient so to do. And the major Part of every Community being ordinarily the worse Part; Is not Mankind, according to this Principle, in an hopeful condition by the Laws of Nature to be well Governed? 'Tis seldom the worst Men are good Governours. And 'tis obvious to common Sense, that Children and Servants are far more numerous then Parents and Masters, and is it not a becoming Thing, that Children and Servants should give Law unto, and correct at pleasure their Parents and Masters? 'Tis but reasonable, that these Men of Politicks should experiment this Discipline first at home in their own Families, before they adventure to commend it to more Public Societies.

Sect. 80. 4. Though this and the former Objection are grounded on Supposals equally absurd and false, and are equally designed to subjugate the Sovereign Authority of Princes to the Power of their Subjects, yet like other Errors, they contradict each other; for if all Men be equal by Nature and partake of equal Liberty, then the Association, or an assembly of a Multitude, nor indeed of all the People in the World, cannot by the Law of Nature claim a Superiority over any particular Person whatsoever, because the Law of Nature and the Rights thereof are immutable, and consequently, though a Multitude may by Force suspend and restrain the exercise of a particular Persons Rights and Liberties, yet they cannot justly alienate or abrogate them. Wherefore if there be any Authority in a Multitude Superiour to that of every particular Person, it must be derivative from some Politick Human Constitution, and not from any natural Right immediately subjected in a Multitude as such, however assembled.

Sect. 81. 5. Suppose it to be true, That the major part of the People of the *English* Nation, or any other populous Country had Right to chuse their Rulers, and to constitute a Form of Government, how, and where should they be assembled to such a purpose? How could they be Summoned, so that all should be obliged to appear such a Day, at such a Place, to such an End? How could the Matter be debated amongst them, Suffrages gathered, or any other Circumstance regularly ordered? Some are old, others sick, others are under age of discretion, &c. and cannot come, but equally interested with those that do, and how shall those that are thus absent, be concluded by the Votes and Acts of those that are present? This Principle therefore is impracticable and morally impossible as well as the former, and equally pernicious as well as vain.

Sect. 82. 6. Again, let it be supposed, that Sovereignty is Originally and Fundamentally inherent in the People either distributively, collectively or representatively considered, do they not divest themselves of it, when by mutual agreement and paction, a Mode of Government is Formed and Established? When they have contracted to be ruled by such, and such Legislators, with Laws so and so conditioned, and their Rights so and so limited and confined, may they at pleasure re-assume their Original Power, if upon Tryal they like not the Constitution, disannul their Contract, and make void all Laws depending on it? If they can, Governours and Governments are the most precarious Things in the World. If they cannot, then the higher Powers are uncontrollable and irresistible.

Sect. 83. 3. Another Objection which makes a deep Impression on Mens Minds, and hath a very powerful influence to dispose them under real or conceited grievances, to resist the Sovereign Powers is this; if every Man from the Natural Principle of self-love, be obliged to preserve and defend himself by Force of Arms, against violent Aggressors (as he is, because no recourse can be had to the ordinary Formalities of Law for Protection) then when

when the higher Powers become violent Aggressors (as they do, when without and against Law they invade their Innocent Subjects Rights, and deal with them as Criminals) their Subjects may warrantably resist them in defence of themselves, Properties and Liberties. Surely (say they) the Resistance of a lawless Violence and Oppression, is no Resistance of a lawful Authority. And if by many and positive express Laws, the Subjects have Properties and Liberties reserved to them as their Rights, then they must have a Right to preserve them against the illegal Invasions of the Prerogative, and consequently may oppose Force to Force in such a Case.

Ans. To desire and endeavour by all lawful means the Preservation of our selves, and our just Rights and Interests is unquestionably from the dictate of Nature: but to defend our selves and Interests by assaulting all sorts of injurious and violent Aggressors with Force of Arms is not so, though they invade so secretly, and assault so violently, that there is no place for an appeal to the Formalities of Law for Protection, and Reparation; because from such Aggressors there may be some such injuries as are tolerable from common humanity, *Pr.* 19. 11. and 14. 29. and 20. 3. Reasons of Religion, *Mat.* 5. 39. and for a public Good, *1 Cor.* 3. 5. I take this to be a Maxim of eternal Truth, That self-defence must not in any case stand in Competition with the public Safety. The Principle of Self-preservation, must not be so exercised as to divest us of all Respect due to our Relations, but we must consider our selves as Members of a Society, and Subjects to Government, as well as Men, and act accordingly. A Man *as such*, by the Law of Nature may have Liberty to do that, which by the positive Law of that Society to which he belongs, may be Treason; yea, and which as he is relatively considered, may be superceded by a Superiour Law of Nature; for all private Interests being included in the Public, and the Safety of every particular Part comprehended in the Safety of the whole, the Respect due to the Public and the whole, is to be the Standard and Measure, and consequently to over-rule the Respect due to any private or particular security whatsoever. This premised, I shall refer my Answer to the forementioned Objection to several particulars.

Sect. 84. 1. How Men can be obliged from the Principal of Self-preservation, to resist the injurious and destructive Dealings of the higher Powers, by repelling Force with Force, when such Resistance in the very Nature of the Thing evidently tends to the dissolution of the Government, and consequently, not only to the Distraction, but also to the Destruction, of the whole Community is not easily to be apprehended, nor at all to be believed. Surely, 'tis better that one Member be destroyed than the whole Body. And 'tis also in its self very evident, that, That which is most advantageous to the public Settlement and the Safety of the Community, is of best Accomodation to the Subjects Preservation and Interest, which is the Case, as hath been shewed, of the irresistibility and uncontrollableness of the higher Powers.

Sect. 85. 2. The Objection is a very plain begging of the question; for it supposeth, that the higher Powers may by their illegal Administrations, doing Things without Law, or against Law, divest themselves of their Authority, and thereby put themselves in the just reputation of their Subjects into the State and Condition of violent Aggressors, and answerably may be so dealt withal; as if no difference were to be made betwixt a Thief, a Cyclops, an Hungry Irish Wolf, a Canibal, a Mauritanian Lion, and the higher Powers and those Commissioned by them, when they persecute the Subjects Persons, and invade their Civil or Religious Rights without and against Law. Indeed this is not the Doctrine of the Bow string, but 'tis such as only becomes a Chaplain to the Rumpers, and Oliver's High Courts of Justice. And if you consult the Statute called *Exilium Hugonis*, which enumerates the Offences of the Two Spencers against the State, and the Sentence of the Parliament against them, you will find these

these among the other damnable Tenets of theirs there condemned, viz. *That they caused a Bill or Schedule to be Published, containing, That Homage and Legiance is due to the King rather in relation to the Crown, than absolutely to his Person; because no Regiance is due to him, before the Crown be vested upon him: and that if the King do not govern according to Law, the Leiges in such a Case are bound by their Oath to the Crown, to remove him either by Law or Rigour.* Do not the Books and Pamphlets of our Demagogues speak the same Language in effect? May not Parents oppress their Children with unjust violence as well as Sovereign Powers their Subjects? And may Children in such a Case stretch forth their Hands against their Parents and be innocent? If the Authority of Parents will exempt them from the Active Resistance of their Children, why should not also that of Magistrates exempt them in the like Case from the Active Resistance of their Subjects? This is a Doctrine which makes Wives, Children and Servants as well as Subjects Witnesses, Jurors, Judges and Executioners in their own Cause. An Excellent Method to abet and promote a Legal Authority, and to maintain public Order, Justice and Peace!

Sect. 86. 3. Although the Resistance of a lawless Violence and Oppression, be not the Resistance of a lawful Authority, yet the Resistance of a lawless Violence may be so Circumstanced, that it may be an unlawful Resistance of him or them that are in a full and unquestionable Possession of a lawful Authority. For when the Illegal Acts of Sovereign Princes are by Force of Arms resisted, Sovereign Princes themselves as such are also resisted, because their Persons and Authority are not actually and indeed divided. 'Tis true, their natural and politic Capacities are distinguishable in our Conceptions: but 'tis as true, that the natural Subsistences of the Sovereign Powers are never actually separated from their Sovereign Authority. I pray consider for the Illustrations of this, if the *English* Legiance be not due to the King in his natural Capacity, and not in his politic Capacity; for as the King swears to protect us in our natural Capacities, so we swear Legiance to him in his natural Capacity. And this is the Reason, why by our Law *the Compassing and Imagining the Death of the King is High-Treason*, because his Person being invested with Sovereign Authority, he cannot be Murthered in the Eye of the Law under any other Notion. Wherefore though the Personal Acts of our Kings are not always Legal Acts, and their Commands considered in their Natural Capacities may be such as no good Subject can approve, actively submit unto, and obey; yet they are still the higher Powers which cannot be resisted without the peril of damnation, because their personal Subsistences imply an inseparable Investiture with Sovereign Authority. And therefore my Lord Coke in *Calvins* Case tells us, that the *Natural Legiance* due to our Kings in their Natural Capacities from their Subjects is *absolute and indefinite, not circumscribed by Law, but above Law and before Law*, and consequently *indelible and immutable*.

Sect. 87. Because the Authority of our Kings is in their Laws, their Offices, their Courts, where their Persons are not, some think, that their Persons may be resisted and no Resistance made to their Authority. I would have such to consider, whence it is, that Laws, Judicial Courts, and Subordinate Officers have their Authority. Is it not Originally from the Authority of the King's Person? And are not all the Laws, Courts and Officers of the Kingdom, for that reason called the King's Laws, Courts and Officers? And can the King communicate Authority without Authority, first inherent in himself? Certainly, that must needs be the most Eminent Authority which is the Source and Fountain of all other Authority, according to that Maxim, *Quicquid efficit tale est magis tale*. And if the Personal Authority of the King be antecedent to that of his Laws, Courts and Officers, and derive to them that Authority they partake of, then I conceive 'twill be no illogical reasoning to infer, That the Being and Existence of his Sovereign Authority depends not on them. As the King had an Existence before their Constitution, so he may likewise after their dissolution. God forbid, that when a Sovereign Prince hath solemnly promised and sworn to

Govern his Subjects according to his Established Laws, and to Protect them in their Rights, Properties and Privileges, that he should violate his Faith thus given to God and his People, yet if he do he is a Sovereign Prince still, and the Resistance of him, a Resistance of the Ordinance of God, because his Authority is from God, and hath no Superior under God to controul it, nor to whom to forfeit, and because the illegal Exercise of his Power doth not disannul his Authority.

Sect. 88. 4. The Illegal and Destructive Acts of the Sovereign Powers towards their Subjects are not always Inauthoritative Acts. This is evident to the common Sense and Experience of Mankind, from the injurious Sentences that are past, and Executions that ensue in all sorts of Human Judicatures respectively to the Lives, Limbs, Liberties and Estates of Subjects. The Liberty the Subjects here in *England* have in some Cases to arrest Judgment, and to appeal from an Inferiour to a Superiour Court, presumes the Truth of this. Now, though a Sentence contrary to the true Intention of Law be an unjust Sentence, and cannot properly have the Authority of the Law in it, yet Subjects in all Parts of the World are obliged by it, till it be rescinded and reversed by the Authority of a competent Superiour Judge. And if it be a Sentence past or ratified by a Supream Judge, from whom there is no appeal, the Subject can have no redress, but is finally concluded by it how illegal and pernicious soever it be, hence that, *Etiam cum Prætor iniquum pronunciat, jus dicit*; Which is a further Evidence, that there is an Authority in Persons Superiour to that in Laws. 'Tis from the Authority of the Person and not of the Law, that a Sentence pronounced according to the Law, binds in some Cases and not in others; and a Sentence pronounced against Law is reverfible in some Cases and not in others. Indeed, 'tis plain, that a Sentence pronounced contrary to the End and Intention of Law, could have no Authority and Obligatory Force in it, were it not from the Authority of the Judge whose act it is. Then it will follow.

Sect. 89. 5. That the Right which Subjects have to preserve themselves in their Properties and Liberties against the unjust and violent Invasions or Usurpations of the Prerogative, cannot authorize or warrant them to an active and forcible Resistance thereof. For though the higher Powers are not Commissioned to do illegal, outrageous and destructive acts of violence, yet they are the higher Powers by Commission, and therefore, though they abuse their Power, the Subjects being no competent Judges thereof, they are to be submitted unto without Resistance. The High Priest and Elders of the People, had no legal Authority to apprehend and secure Jesus Christ as a Criminal, and yet he condemned St. Peter's forcible Resistance thereof. So when the High Priest commanded St. Paul to be smitten contrary to the Law, he acknowledged, that notwithstanding that injurious violence offered to him, he had no warrant to revile him, much less violently resist him, and return blow for blow. So that, those Acts of the higher Powers which are done without Law and against Law, being considered conjunctively with the Authors or efficient Causes of them, they imply the Presence of a Sovereign Authority with them which is uncontrollable and irresistible.

Sect. 90. 4. Another Objection which very naturally offers it self from what was last said, is this; if the very Illegal Acts of all Sovereign Powers be uncontrollable and irresistible, then a Despotical is not Distinguishable from a Political Government, nor an Arbitrary from a Legal Power, nor an Absolute Monarchy from a Monarchy regulated and limited by Established Laws; because the Authority of the one in effect is of equal extent with the other, and the one as unaccountable and irresistible, if he make his Will his Law, as the other.

Ans. What the Apostle said concerning the Difference betwixt the Condition of the Jew and of the Gentile, that the Jew had the advantage and profit much every way, Rom. 3: 1, 2. that may, I say, concerning the different Condition of the aforementioned sorts of Government;

vernment ; a Political, Legal, limited Government hath much advantage and profit every way above that which is Despotical, Absolute and Arbitrary ; and therefore no Man which wisheth well to his Country, and sincerely desires the Safety, ease and contentment either of the Sovereign or his Subjects will contribute in the least Degree, any Assistance by word or deed towards the Abolition of the former and Introduction of the latter : but yet supposing the Sovereign Power of the latter irresistible, and the Sovereign Power of the former resistible by the Subjects thereof, and it will be the most desirable, because it is invested with an unappealable Authority, and consequently is sufficiently provided for the Decision and Determination of all Controversies, and the Preservation of the Peace of the Community, which is not the Case of the other, as hath been formerly observed. And I am sure, the Danger of Anarchy is as terrible, and more than that of Tyranny. Now for the confutation of the foregoing Objection, let these particulars be considered,

Sect. 91. 1. Though a Political Prince who is obliged to regulate his Power by his known Laws made and Established with the Consent and Approbation of his Subjects, may from a presumption of the uncontrollableness and irresistibility of his Power, abuse his Power in Arbitrary Administrations thereof, governing as if his private Will, and not his public Laws were to be the Measure of his Government, yet this cannot alter the Fundamental Constitution of the Government, and make his Will a Law to his Subjects : and therefore, though they must not actively resist his Power, yet they are not obliged actively to own and obey it. And 'tis very improbable, that any Prince in the World, who is well in his Wits, will augment his Power by Usurpation, when his Government will be as safe by a Legal Administration, endeavour to obtain any End of Government by Force, and against the Consent of the Subjects, which is obtainable by Law and with their Consent. Princes ordinarily are not so meanly skilled in the Politics, but they know and consider too, *That he hath most Power over his Subjects, who is most powerful in them.* And in truth, all the Strong Holds in a Kingdom, will have nothing of Security in them for the Sovereign, when he hath dismantled this.

Sect. 92. 2. Though a Political as well as a Despotical Prince can do no wrong, which is censurable and punishable by any Human Law ; (for though he be obliged in Honour, Equity and Conscience to Conduct himself and Administrations by the directive Power of the Law, yet he is not under the corrective and coercive Power of it, not only because he who can make and repeal the Law, and pardon the Transgression thereof is greater than the Law and above it, but also because he hath no Superiour to judge and execute any legal punishment on him) yet those Commissioned by him, are accountable and punishable for Illegal Administrations, and cannot serve his private Will contrary to his Laws, without exposing themselves to the Condemnation of evil doers. And though the King may for a Time interpose an Illegal Exercise of his Power to suspend the Law, and to defend and rescue them from the Coaction and Vengeance of it, yet he may after due consideration of the Nature of the Thing, prefer the Honour of his Government, before the Protection of the Transgressors of his Law, and chuse rather to justify his Legal Will, than to shew indulgence to his Passionate Humor. And in case such Malefactors should escape Condign Punishment during the whole Reign of the Prince that employs them, yet 'tis great odds but his Successor to shew the Value he sets on his Laws, his readiness to redress the Grievances of his Subjects from former Male-administrations of Government, and to ingratiate himself with them as a lover of Righteousness, and tender of their Legal Liberties, will offer them as a Sacrifice to public justice. And therefore not only all honest Men, but also all worldly wise Men, and Men of Fortunes will upon this account take heed how they engage themselves in the Execution of the King's Will against his Laws. I do not doubt but the Kings

of England will consider what the Learned *Bracton* said, that *Ipsē Rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo, & sub Lege, quia Lex facit Regem.* The King himself ought not to be under Man, but under God, and under the Law, because the Law makes the King. His meaning is not that the King derives his Authority as King from the Law, for then the Principal Efficient cause of Governing Administrations, would owe its being to the Instrumental Cause thereof: but the true Intent of that learned Author, and of *Fleta* too, who concurs with him in that expression is this, that the Law declares and publisheth to the Subject who is their rightful King, and so supports and maintains him as King in their acknowledgments, and by the Observation of which he distinguisheth himself from a Tyrant, who Governs without a due regard had to Law. And in this respect I think my Lord *Coke* spake not amiss when he told King *James* the First, *That the Law sate the Crown upon his Head.* And there is no such ready Way to keep and hold the Crown there as to keep and hold fast to that Law which sate it there.

Sect. 93. 3. As the Power of Sovereign Princes is from the Lord, so their hearts are in his hand and he over-ruleth them to the best Purposes, and will not permit them, unless provoked by our sins, to become illegal scourges to us. 1 Per. 3. 13. *Who is he that will turn from, if ye be followers of that which is good?* 'Tis generally acknowledged, that when the Apostles Epistle was written to the Romans, that the Government of that Empire was Despotical, and managed with such an Arbitrary Absoluteness, that it was highly Tyrannical, and yet the Apostle tells them, *that the Powers that be are ordained of God. And forbids them resistance under the pain of condemnation.* And tells them, that Rulers are not [*i. e.* by their Office ought not to be] *a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil.* And least they should say as many among us are apt to do, 'tis true, the good should be protected, countenanced and encouraged, but we can have no assurance thereof from the Constitution of the Government, our Rulers may make their lust a Law, and what a Case shall we be in then? The Apostle anticipates this Objection by assuring them, That performing their duties they shall obtain the Success desired, v. 3. *Do that which is good and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the Minister of God to thee for good.* And as he is so by the Designation of God, so he shall actually and eventually be so to those who submit themselves dutifully and peaceably as becometh good Men and Christians to his Government, Pro. 16. 12. *It is an abomination to Kings to commit wickedness; for the Throne is established by righteousness.* And God doth implicitly say to every King as he did by *Abijah* to *Jeroboam*, *If thou wilt hearken unto all that I the Lord command thee, and wilt walk in my ways, and do that which is right in my sight, I will keep my Statutes and Commandments, then will I be with thee and build thee a sure House,* 1 King 11. 30, 31, 38.

Sect. 94. It cannot be denied, but they may pretend an exemption from the obligatory Force and coercive Power of all Laws of their own making, but they cannot pretend so respectively to any Laws of God's making and imposing, nor from the checks and restraints of their own Reasons and Consciences. If therefore they usurp upon the Rights of their innocent and dutiful Subjects, and in defiance to their Oaths to God and promissory Engagements to their Subjects, exercise a destructive or oppressive Power respectively to their Persons, Proprieties, Liberties and Privileges, they cannot reflect on themselves as illegal ex-cises of Power without tremendous apprehension of the Divine Justice and Vengeance, remonstrances, upbraiding reproaches, and severe censures and condemnation of that Judge, which God hath immediately substituted within their own Breasts to pass sentence in his Name. And as it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, Heb. 10. 31. so a wounded Spirit who can bare, Pro. 18. 14? Surely, that Prince will make a very bold adventure, who shall usurp an Arbitrary Power, that will render his condition so dangerous and

and troublelome. How can he expect to live in Peace and Safety, who lives without regard to the Bonds thereof? Tyrannizing *Adonibezek* was Tyrannically dealt withal, and forced to acknowledge God's Justice therein, *Judg. i. 7. As I have done so God hath required me*: And how terribly did God revenge on *Ahab* the spilling of *Naboth's* innocent Blood, and the spoiling of his Vineyard, *1 King. 21. 19. and 22. 58*? and was not insulting *Nebuchadnezzar* driven from *Men* and made to eat Grass as Oxen, and his Body wetten with the Dew of Heaven, till his Hairs were grown like Eagles Feathers, and his Nails like Birds Claws, *Dan. 4. 33.*? and was not persecuting *Herod* eaten of Worms till he gave up the Ghost, *Acts 12. 23.* In a word, how can any Prince hope that God will protect him, or his Subjects obey him, who makes Conscience of discharging his Duty to neither? *Isa. 33. 1. Wo to thee that spoilest, and wast not spoiled, and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee: when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled; and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they deal treacherously with thee*: A fair warning is this to all that are oppressively and treacherously inclined: Wherefore, though it be not impossible, that a Political Prince, whose Power is limited in the Administration of his Government should shake off the restraints of his established Laws, and refuse to regulate his Power thereby, and consequently assume and exercise an absolute and arbitrary Power, yet 'tis exceedingly improbable, that he will do so; and by a long Succession of Princes here in *England* for near two thousand Years having never found it so, we have no reason to be disturbed, much less distracted with fears concerning it. Let the worst be supposed, and yet we have relief in *Psal. 37. 5, 7.*

Sect. 95. 4. The States of *England* who have ever been very tender of the Legal Liberties of their Country, and very watchful to prevent all Encroachments of the Prerogative on the Subjects Rights and Proprieties, and upon all due occasions have manifested averſation unto, and detestation of, absolute and arbitrary Power, have yet acknowledged and ratified it as a standing Law, *That 'tis not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that 'tis a Traitorous Position, That we may take Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against them commissioned by him*: Which to all unprejudiced Men is an unquestionable Argument, That the States of *England* did not believe, *That 'tis not inconsistent with the Nature of a limited Sovereign Power, to be uncontrollable and irresistible with armed Forces.*

Sect. 96. To enervate this invincible Argument from our Legal Constitution, for Non-Resistance, a learned Man thus dictates to us, *That all general Words how large soever, are still supposed to have a tacite Exception and Reserve in them, if the Matter seems to require it*: Which being spoken with express reference to the Matter, under consideration, seems to me an imputation of such Collusion to the venerable States of the Nation, as is altogether unworthy of that Character they ought to have in the Reputation of the whole World: Let it be supposed, that the *English* Parliaments may warrantably impose Laws, for the regulating of the Subjects deportment towards their Sovereign Prince, composed in the most comprehensive Words devisable, which are yet to be understood according to a legal Intention with Exceptions and Reservations, and there is no doubt to be made, that the Subject being left to spell out the equitable Intention of such Laws but they will find out such Exceptions and Reservations as shall in effect render all such Laws, frivolous to the purpose of the King's Preservation respectively both to his natural and political Capacity: And I presume to, that this is a Rule of good Accomodation to subserve some Jesuitical Doctrines and Practices, which by all good Men ought to be exploded and condemned: This Author's Rule of Construction being observed respectively to the Case under consideration, the Intention of supposing this Declaration, *That 'tis not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, &c.* must be this, excepting and reserving some Cases which ought not

suspected, and are too odious to be named: Now, those Cases which ought not to be suspected, and are too odious to be named, being no where mentioned or explained in this or any other Act of Parliament, 'tis evident, that 'tis left to the Subjects to put what Interpretation thereon they please, provided they will affirm, that the Prince hath done what they suspected he would not do, and that he hath done a Thing very odious and abominable to them; and if a Law subject to such an Interpretation become serviceable to the Security of any Prince or Government, 'twill be beside the Intention of the Imposer: and the Matter under consideration in that Act of Parliament, is so far from *seeming to require* such Exceptions and Reservations, that they are an evident subversion of the Design of it, which was to prevent the taking of Arms against the King, upon pretences of the most odious Things imaginable, such as is the *Usurping an Arbitrary Power, Involving the legal Rights, Properties, Liberties and Privileges of the Subject, and Subversion of the established Religion and Toleration, yea, Introduction of Idolatrous Worship, &c.* As every English Man knows, who is but competently instructed in the pretended Motives of that Rebellion, to which these Laws directly refer: but 'tis further said, for the countenancing of this apocryphal Sense of the Declaration aforesaid, *That when there seems to be a Contradiction betwixt two Articles in our Constitution, as there seems to be betwixt the publick Liberty of the Nation, and the renouncing of Resistance in case it be invaded; we are to examine which of the two is most evident and most important, and to fix upon that: and the publick Liberty of the Nation being the most Plain and most Important of the two, the Article against Resistance ought to be softened, that it do not destroy the other:* But to the States of England, who certainly are the most Competent Judges in this case, there seemed no contradiction, but a very fair consistency betwixt these two Articles; and to every unprejudiced Man who is not captivated to an Hypothesis from Passion and Interest, *The Renunciation of resistance upon any pretence whatsoever is as evident an Article of our Constitution, as can be expressed in Words:* and being directly designed for the Preservation of publick Order and Peace, and the Security of the Government, it is not easily imaginable how any Article should exceed the Importance of it. Yes, but that of the publick Liberty may, *because the Chief Design of our whole Law, and of all the several Rules of our Constitution is to secure and maintain it:* This passage sounds like the Shibboleth of the *Scottish Kirk*; for so it is translated in the Third Article of the *Solemn League and Covenant*; *We shall—endeavour with our Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms:* Where the Preservation and Defence of the King's Majesty's Person and Authority, is not only limited to the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, but late in order after the Rights and Privileges of Parliament and Liberties of the Kingdoms, as the less evident and less important Matter to be attended and endeavoured: This is rare Policy! Men of a lower Elavation in that Science, who we all plain meaning Men, do ordinarily believe, that the Chief Design of our whole Law, and all the several Rules of our Constitution is to secure and maintain the Ends of Government, Order and Peace, and consequently the Government it self: and, how Order and Peace can be preserved and maintained, and the Government secured, when the Subjects are authorized and allowed in cases which (they being Judges) seem evident and important enough to them, to disturb the one and resist the other with force of Arms, I cannot apprehend; because ordinarily the Majority of Subjects have not that veneration for their Government, and respect for the public Welfare becomes them, but are suspicious and credulous, and led more by rash Passions and feigned Interests than by wise Judgment and the publick Safety: But, suppose the Liberties of the Nation must be acquitted for the Com-

mand of God violated, what is the Subjects Duty then? And therefore, as I do not believe, that the Terms, *King, Sovereign, Supreme*, so frequently used in our Laws are equivocal Ones, so neither do I believe, that the Law which requires a *Renunciation of Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever*, is of an equivocal signification, but intends, that the Subject mean honestly, when he declares against *Resistance* without exceptions or reserves, because, 'tis a Thing unworthy of the Wisdom and Honour of our Government, to impose a Law of an equivocal signification, and such an Interpretation can serve no good end.

Sect. 97. 5. Another Objection against Non-resistance, and to warrant and encourage the taking of Arms against the Kings of *England*, in case they exceed their limited bounds, is this; The Supreme Power must still be supposed to be lodged with the legislative Power, and not with the executive Power, when that is appropriated to a distinct Subject from the Legislative. Now 'tis certain, that the executive Part of the *English* Government is lodged singly in the King; so that, the whole Administration of that is in him: but the Legislative is lodged between him and the Two Houses of Parliament; so that the Power of making and repealing Laws is not singly in the King, but only so far as the Two Houses concur with him: Wherefore, the Power of the King is fiduciary only, nothing but a Trust; and all Trusts (saith this Author) by their nature import, that those to whom they are given are accountable, and consequently, censurable and punishable; and therefore, the Kings of *England* may be resisted with force of Arms and deposed, and then dealt withal, if under equal guilt, as other Criminals guilty of the most Capital Offences.

Ans. That a distinction is to be made between the Legislative and Executive part of Power, is not to be doubted: but, whether this Author have rightly applied it, is to be questioned, and from as plain evidence as any in the World to be denied: for the Legislative Authority of the *English* Government is not divided into distinct hands, from the Executive, but lodged in the same Subject, even in the King of *England* only.

Sect. 98. 1. All the Laws of *England* are the King's Laws, receive their denomination from him only; and therefore, all offences committed against them are principally and ultimately said to be committed against the King, and his Crown and Dignity: for although the Matter (perhaps) of all Laws in some latter Ages is prepared by the Two Houses of Parliament, and no Law is, or can be enacted without their concurrent Approbation and Consent, yet every Law receives its formal Being and Obligation, from the Authority of the King only, and no Law is repealed but by his Authority only: *The Authority of the Two Houses is the Authority of Councillors, and not of Legislators, as Judge Jenkins saith: and Sir W. Rawleigh tells us, That, that which is done in Parliament is done by the Kings absolute Authority—The Three Estates do but advise as the Privy-Council doth, which advice if the King embrace, it becomes the King's own Act in the one, and the King's Law in the other: And therefore, when they have addressed themselves to the King, in order to the enacting or abrogating of a Law, they have prefaced it in a petitionary Stile, as acting in the capacity of Loving and Loyal Subjects. Sir Edward Coke tells us, 4 Inst. p. 25. That in Ancient time, all Acts of Parliament were in form of Petitions: For instances, thus 'twas in 1 Edw. 3. When Magna Charta was confirmed; there you shall find this Preamble; At the Request of the Commonalty, by their Petition made before the King—in his Parliament, &c. so again, in 9 Edw. 3. 'Tis thus prefaced; Whereas, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeesses desired our Sovereign Lord the King in his Parliament, by their Petition: and many of the Statutes are penned in this Imperial Stile, The King Commands: The King wills: Our Lord the King hath established: Our Lord the King hath ordained: And of his special grace hath granted, &c. See 3 Edw. 1. and 6 Edw. 1. and 25. Edw. 3. Statute of Marleburg, 52 Hen. 1. and Statute of Quo Warranto: A sufficient Evidence, That all our Laws owe their Being to the King's Authority only.*

Sect. 99. 2. All the judicial Courts of England are the King's Courts, and derive all their Authority originally from him, and are obliged to refer the Exercise of their respective Jurisdictions, finally for the Preservation of his Person, Crown and Dignity; and consequently, the High Court of Parliament is the King's Court too, and depends on him for that Authority, which is there exercised: And 'tis well observed by my Lord Coke, *That the King is Principium, Caput & Finis Parliamenti*: and answerably in the Parliament writ, the King calls it *Quoddam Parliamentum nostrum*: Thereby signifying a Subordination of the Estates, convened in Parliament under him sitting there in his Royal Political capacity: And consequently, the Acts of the Two Houses of Parliament, without an impress of Royal Authority are nothing worth to the Purposes of Government: 'Tis no Argument, that the Two Houses of Parliament have a Co-ordination with him in his legislative Authority, because he hath restrained himself from the Exercise and Use of it, without their Request and Consent; for it is no more than a *Conditio sine qua non*, which hath only the Force of a Negative, without the Concurrence of which the principal Efficient obtains not its Effect.

Sect. 100. 3. The Measures or Degrees of all Civil Authority and Power, are to be taken either from the express Laws of any State, or the immemorial Customs and Prescriptions thereof from a long Possession, or from the Oaths the Subjects swear to their Princes: This is acknowledged by the Author, who pleads for a Co-ordination of the Houses of Parliament, with the King in the Legislative Authority of the Kingdom, as a proper Rule by which to judge where the Legislative Power of a Nation is lodged: and this being impartially attended, will evidently discover, That the Legislative Power is in the King only: For,

1. If we consider what the Laws determine, we shall find that they ascribe it wholly to the King. See to this purpose the afore-quoted Preface to a Statute in 24. Hen. 8. where 'tis thus said, *For by divers, Old, Authentick Histories and Chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this Realm of England is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the World, governed by our Supreme Head and King, having the Dignity and Royal Estate of the Imperial Crown of the Same; unto whom a Body Politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of People, divided in Terms, and by Names of Spirituality and Temporality, have been bounden, and ought to bear next to God natural and humble Obedience, he being also in Statute, and furnished by the Goodness and Sufferance of Almighty God (not of the People with Plenary) whole and entire Power, Preheminence, Authority, Prerogative and Jurisdiction, to render and yield Justice, and final determination — in all Causes, Matters and Debates*: Likewise in the Statute of the 35 of Eliz. this Submission after Non-conformity to divine Service, is to be made openly in some Church, *I do acknowledge and testify in my Conscience, that no other Person hath, or ought to have any Power or Authority over [His] Majesty*: Which Statute was declared to be in full force in the 16 of Ch. 2.

2. This Authority and Preheminence (as the former Statute mentioned implies) is of immemorial Custom and Prescription, and was (so far as I can discover) never questioned in any Parliamentary Convention of the States till 1642. and then by the Two lower States only too: and then the Co-ordination in the Legislative Power was asserted, to warrant and justify one of the most unreasonable and barbarous Rebellions that ever was in this Kingdom: 'Tis declared by the Statute of 16 Rich. 2. *That the Crown of England hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly Subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things, touching the Regality of the same Crown, and to none other, and if, to none other, then not to the Two Houses of Parliament*: and in 1 Jam. 1. *The High Court of Parliament, wherein (as they speak) the whole Kingdom in Person or Representative was present (i. e. all Estates and Degrees) call themselves his Majesty's Loyal and Faithful Subjects, and declare his Majesty to be their only Liege Lord and Sovereign, and agnize their constant Faith, Obedience and Loyalty to his Majesty*

jeſty and Royal Progeny: And I will be ſo bold as to challenge this Author to ſhew from any Parliamentary Record that ever the Two Houſes claimed, or pretended to a Co-ordination with the King in the Legislative Power till the time above mentioned.

3. What can be more evident for the Determination of this matter than the Oath of Supremacy, by which every Subject is obliged to *teſtify and declare in his Conſcience, that the [Kings] Highneſs is the only Supreme Governour of this Realm, and of all other [His] Highneſſes Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Things or Cauſes, as Temporal, as He is Supreme, He hath no Superior; and as He is only Supreme, He can have no equal*; they that wreſt the Supremacy of the King's Government to import only the executive part of Government, manifeſtly ſubvert the primary Deſign of the Oath, which was to reſtrain and preſerve the King's Subjects from a Submiſſion to the uſurped legislative and juridical Authority of the Biſhop of Rome: So that, if the Biſhop of Rome pretended to both parts of Government (as 'tis certain he did and ſtill doth) then the Oath directly intends an oppoſition to both; and conſequently aſcribes the only Supremacy appropriately to the King, both reſpectively to the Legislative and Executive part of the Government.

ſect. 101. 4. Suppoſe, contrary to all this plain evidence, that the legislative Power is lodged between the King and Two Houſes of Parliament, how will this prove a Superior Authority in them above that in the King? *Par in Parem non habet poteſtatem; An Equal is no Superior*. Indeed, according to our Authors affirmation here are Two to One, which is very great odds, if he intended to preſs to his Service that Maxim, *Major pars obinet rationem totius, the major part of the Legislators virtually are the whole*: For this will at the Pleaſure of the Two Houſes render the Concurrence of the King needleſs: but it will alſo, if the King and Lords pleaſe, render the Houſe of Commons as needleſs too: which may alſo be the Caſe of the Houſe of Lords, if the King and Houſe of Commons pleaſe to have it ſo: For, I preſume he will have the Co-ordination to be equally lodged in the one as in the other: that our Author had any reſpect to this, I cannot affirm: but I well remember, when the Legislative Authority was pretended unto by the Two Houſes, that their Advocates pleaded this Maxim for the Juſtification of what they called *Ordinances of Parliament*, which were of ſuch Authority and Power in the Hands of their ſubordinate Inſtruments, that they uſed them to deprive of Life, Liberty and Eſtate: and nothing was more frequently urged than *Co-ordinata ſe invicem ſuppleant, Co-ordinates ought mutually to ſupply each others defects*. So that, what the King from Perverſneſs or Ignorance would not do, or impotency or reſtraint could not do, with them, they preſumed they were ſufficiently authorized to do without him; becauſe the public Intereſt and Safety muſt not miſcarry, or be hazarded for want of ſupplemental Laws.

ſect. 104. I know our Author ſuppoſeth the King in his Political Capacity, to be in another conſideration thereof inferior to the Two Houſes of Parliament, though he will not perhaps ſay he is ſo in his Legislative, viz. as the Executive part of Government is lodged ſingly in him; becauſe this (as he teacheth) is a Matter of *Truſt* derived from the Legislative part, for which he is accountable; and in that capacity the King is a *Subject* to the Two Houſes of Parliament. Right Excellent! indeed, this is not in terms aſſerted, but 'tis plainly the intent and drift of it: Well! let it be ſuppoſed, *That the Executive Power of the Kingdom is a Truſt from the Legislative Power*; will it not then follow, that the King derives a Truſt to himſelf? certainly (if this Author himſelf may be believed) he hath a ſhare in the Legislative Power; and therefore if a Truſt be transferred and devolved from thence to him, it muſt be with his concurrence as acting in that capacity: Now if he ſhould chance to be unfaithful to himſelf and violate this Truſt, to whom in a judiciary way muſt he be accountable? of whom muſt that Court be conſtituted that muſt queſtion the Matter? there may be no Houſes of Parliament in being; and if there be, if he diſguſt their proceedings, may he not Adjourn, Prorogue, or Diſſolve them if he think fit, and what will become of the Matter then? 'tis but equal, that if all intereſted in the Legislative Power be concern'd, the King himſelf ſhould be admitted of the *Quorum*, when this matter of Truſt comes to be queſtioned and debated. I conceive the Vanity of this pretence, *That the Executive part of Government is an accountable Truſt committed by our Laws to the King*, will evidently appear to any impartial Man that will but try how to answer theſe few plain Queſtions. 1. If this Truſt be abuſed, is it any part of the Executive Power of the Government to Summon, Try, Judge and Punish the Abuser thereof? 2. In whoſe Name ſhall the Proceſs for Summons be iſſued forth in order to his Tryal. 3. What proviſion hath the Law made for the Arreſting of the King's Perſon, to ſecure his forth coming to Tryal, in caſe he reſuſe to obey a preceptive Summons? 4. Is it not High Treason to impruſon the King, or by force to take him into a Man's Power, yea, or but to manifeſt ſuch a Deſign by ſome overt act? 5. If he have a fair Tryal according to Law, he muſt be tried by his Peers, I pray, who are they? 6. Who ſhall be his Judge and paſs Sentence? 7. What is the Punishment the Law hath ordained for the abuſe of this Truſt? 8. Who ſhall execute the Sentence pronounced againſt him? 'Tis manifeſt, the whole Adminiſtration of the Executive Power (being confeſſedly lodged in the King, nothing of this can

legally be done, and therefore 'tis impossible that the King's Executive Power should be a Trust committed to him by his Houses of Parliament, for which he ought to be accountable to them or any other earthly Power. I hope, you would not have our High and Mighty Sovereign Lord, the good People of England erect an *High Court of Justice*, which shall be instead of Delators, Witnesses, Jurors, Peers, Judges and Executioners. I am taught by some that understood the Constitution and Laws of the Kingdom of England very well, that the King is not accountable for his Office or Actions to any Court, Person or Persons whatsoever; and every Man that will but attentively read the *Spencer's Case*, and the Tryals of the Regicides may learn the same Lesson: And thus saith the most learned *Bracton*, *Sunt sub Rege liberi homines & servi; & omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo. Si a Rege petatur (cum Breve non currat contra Regem) locus erit supplicationi, quod factum suum corrigat, emendet; si non fecerit, satis erit ei ad penam, quod Dominum expectet ultorem, de chartis Regiis, & factis Regum, nec privata persona, nec Fusticiarii debent disputare.* There are Free-men and Servants under the King, and every one is under him, and he is under no one, but under God only: If any thing be to be demanded of the King (since a Writ cannot go forth against the King) there will be place for petitioning, that he would correct and amend his doing; if he do not, it will be Punishment enough for him, that he expect the Lord to be the Avenger; of the Royal Grants and Actions of the King neither private Persons or Judges ought to dispute; much less to censure and chastise: And my Lord Coke in his *Compleat Copy Holder* hath taught me, That the King representeth God's Person on Earth: And I presume, no Man is so daringly bold as to affirm, That God is accountable and censurable for any of his doings.

Seft. 105. 5. It appears from the very Form and Tenor of the most Excellent Charters of the English Subjects Liberties, that the Regal Authority and Power is not a fiduciary Trust from his Subjects and People under any consideration whatsoever. *Magna Charta* it self runs thus, *Spontanea & bona voluntate nostra, dedimus & concessimus: By our free and good will we have given and granted, &c.* not contracted, bargain'd, and upon good and valuable considerations covenanted and promised: but from grace and condescension given and granted. See *9 Hen. 3.* so when the same Charter was confirmed in King Edward's time it was thus worded, *Know ye that we of our meer free will have granted to all Free-men these Liberties.* So in the *Statute Quo Warranto 18. Edw. 1. Dominus Rex ad Parlamentum suum — de gratia sua speciali & propter affectionem quam habet erga Prelatos — & ceteras de Regno suo concessit, &c.* The Lord the King to his Parliament — from his special grace, and for the Affection he hath toward the Prelates and all others of his Kingdom, hath granted. I appeal to all unprejudiced Men, to consider if this be the Language of an accountable Trustee.

Seft. 106. Coke the Regicide having told his Blood-thirsty Masters, That Charles Stuart (for so he called his *Li ge Lord*, that King of Blessed Memory) stands now (that is, in their High Court of Justice) to give an account of his Stewardship; he thus begins to dissect his charge, That the Kings of England are trusted with a limited Power to govern by Law; and affirms it to be one of the Fundamentals of the Law, that the King is not above the Law, but the Law above the King: And for the Proof of it offer'd the Coronation Oath, wherein the King swears, to keep and observe the Laws which the People shall chuse: And then endeavouring to impute to his Sacred Majesty a Violation of his Fidelity to God and his People, concludes him justly condemned by the Fundamental Law of the Nation, &c. and no wonder of such an Inference, for (as he tells us) Governours are but the Peoples Creatures, the Work of their hands, to be accountable as their Stewards; and therefore when they prevaricate and abuse their Trust to question by what Law they call them to account, is High Treason with a Witness: And this is the true Tendency of that Doctrine, That all Power is originally from the People, and the King's executive Power a Trust from the Two Houses of Parliament; because this makes them (as Coke phraseth it) his — *Liege Lords*, and warrants them to exercise an absolute Power over him: 'Tis so naturally implied (saith he) that if a King become a Tyrant that he shall dye for it; that this is the first necessary Fundamental Law of every Kingdom, which by intrinsic Rules of Government must preserve it self: This is just like the Liberty of the People which proves it self, whereas the Power of the King must be proved before the Subjects ought to obey it, because he hath no more than he hath received from his Sovereign Lords the People, which is only founded on positive Law, and if he pretend to more than they have given him, he usurps upon their Liberty, which they have a Right to defend and preserve by force of Arms: which being a new Edition of John Coke's Doctrine the Author must needs deserve exceedingly well of the Government, and cannot be worthily dealt withal, unless highly promoted: how agreeable this is to our Legal Constitution, I refer to every indifferent Judgment, who will compare it with what hath been observed concerned it: and shall conclude in the Words of this Author, It is indeed, clear from the New Testament, That the Christian Religion as such gives us no grounds to defend or propagate it by force. It is a Doctrine of the Cross, and of Faith, and Patience under it: and if by the Order of Divine Providence, and of any Constitution of Government, under which we are born, we are brought under sufferings for our professing of it, we may indeed retire and fly out of any such Country, if we can; but if that is not possible, we must then according to this Religion, submit to those sufferings, under which we may be brought.

considering that God will be glorified by us in so doing, and that he will both support us under our Sufferings, and gloriously reward us for them : By Submitting to Sufferings, by what follows, I hope, he means, a Submission without Resistance, though we are strong enough to make it ; and then the Safety of the English Government is secured, though Religion be our Property and shall chance to be persecuted, because by the Constitution of our Government, we may not upon any pretence whatsoever take Arms against the King.

Sect. 107. 6. Another Objection is this, a King may actually and professedly endeavour to subvert the established Government and overthrow the whole Constitution, and set himself to destroy, if not all, nor the greatest part, yet, at least, very considerable numbers of his People, and so plainly countervail the very end of his Authority and Power ; and will it not be lawful for his Subjects in such a Case to resist him ?

Ans. The Sky may fall, and then Larks will be good cheap. Princes may become Phreneticks and be incapable of Government, and then, as in the Case of a Minor, that is an Hereditary Prince, a *Prorex* is to be had during the Suspension of the Exercise of his Authority and Power : Or, they may be so dissatisfied with the Burthensomeness of the Government, that they may be weary of it, Abdicate and Renounce it ; or they may be so intoxicated and transported with wild and outrageous Passions, Discontents and Prejudices against their Subjects, that they may disclaim the Government of them ; and indeed do so, when instead of administering the Government in order to their Peace and Safety, they turn it to their distraction and ruine, will not be the Ministers of God for good but hurt to them, will not support but destroy the Foundations of their Kingdoms : but then with their Subjects and Kingdoms they destroy themselves too, and cease to be Princes ; because they that disclaim the Protection of their Subjects, and wilfully resolve to destroy their Dominions, can have no right to govern them : They can be no Rulers who will leave nothing under them to be ruled by them : and then the Resistance of them will not be a Resistance of the Higher Powers : but this is a meer Platonical Idea, a Case put, that perhaps never was, nor never is like to have a real Existence in the Nature of things : Let these things be considered,

Sect. 108. 1. *Plutarch* observes. *Inest omni populo aliquod malignum contra Imperantes : There is in all sorts of People some malignity against their Governours.* Such is the Pride of Man's heart, that he is averse to Subjection : our unwillingness to be restrained from following our own Minds and Wills, and to be guided and commanded by the Mind and Will of another, prejudiceth us against the Ruler of us ; and this (as Mr. *Hooker* tells us) makes Men very attentive and favourable Hearers to suck in any Poison that is breathed forth against the King, or the Governours which are sent forth ; and anon it multiplies, and every valley and obscure corner is ready to echo it back again : We must therefore be very wary how we give ear to any evil Suggestions concerning the Designs or male-Administrations of the Higher Powers. Defamation begets an evil Opinion of the Prince ; and concludes in disaffection to him, and that naturally tends unto, and ends in Contempts, Abhorrences and Oppositions.

2. It hath ever been the Practice of seditious and rebellious minded Men, to bestir themselves to ingenerate in the Minds of Subjects Jealousies and Fears concerning the Councils, Designs and Administrations of their Princes, and to magnify to the very utmost every miscarriage in any kind : Thus when *Absholom* designed a Rebellion, and to usurp the Crown, He cast iniquity upon the King. *Psal.* 55. 3. *Comp.* with 2 *Sam.* 15. 3, 4, foreseeing, that having once taken off the Peoples Affections from the King, he might easily take his Throne and Crown from him too ; For who will obey him whom he affects not to please, nor fears to offend ? many will cry up a formed and protested endeavour to subvert the constituted Government, when there is nothing in the Case, but some disputable and doubtful point determined in prejudice to their private Sentiments or Interests ; or some particular illegal Fact or Facts done in favour to the Prerogative and Disadvantage of the Subjects, either through mistake or partiality, without any design at all to make an alteration in the Fundamental Government, much less, to overthrow the whole Constitution ; or some semblance and appearance of an innovation, which was the Case of the *Reubenites, Gadites and half Tribe of Manasseh*, when they built an Altar over against the Land of Canaan, their Brethren, the Children of Israel, were so alarm'd with it, that they presently call a Council of War, and from a meer jealousy and suspicion of an evil intention, they charge them with Rebellion against God and themselves, and seem resolved to offer them as a Sacrifice on their own Altar, *Jos.* 22. and Mens Fears from misgrounded Jealousies, do more often disturb and hurt Kingdoms, than their Princes designs and endeavours to make any considerable alteration in the Government do.

3. An outrageous transport of Passion in a Prince, which proves destructive to the Persons and Proprieties of some of his Subjects is not an habitual disclaiming or virtual renouncing of the Protection of his Subjects, nor consequently, is it a ground for a warrantable Resistance of him with armed Force. Though *Saul* most inhumanly murdered Four-score and Five Priests at once, and smote Nob the City of the Priests with the Edge of the Sword, slew Men, Women and Children and Sucklings

and Oxen and Asses and Sheep, 1 Sam. 22. 18, 19. yet that did not exauctorate him, and expose him to be dealt withal as a common Enemy to his Subjects : So though *David* by murdering *Uriah* forfeited the Favour of God, yet he did not forfeit his Kingdom by it to his Subjects, and put the Sword he had abused out of his own hand into theirs : So when *Foram* King of *Israel*, in a fit of fury, sent a Messenger for the Head of that eminently holy and innocent Prophet *Elisha*, he would not have forfeited his Crown by it, though his Command had been actually executed as he really intended it should : which was a Matter so circumstanced, that 'tis sometimes objected as an Argument to justify the Resistance with force the illegal Persecutions of the Higher Powers : In *Kings* 2. Ch. 6. 32. 'Tis said, That while *Elisha* sate in his House with the Elders, the King sent a Man from before him : but ere the Messenger came to him, he said to the Elders, See how this Son of a Murderer hath sent to take away my Head : look when the Messenger cometh, shut the door and hold him fast at the door : Hence they infer, that for the Preservation of our Lives from the illegal Persecution of the Higher Powers, we may make an active Resistance against them, and those commissioned by them : but the Matter duly considered, we shall find, that the Premises are not of sufficient Strength to support the Conclusion. For, 'tis manifest from the Text, that *Elisha* in this very business acted Prophetically, because by an extraordinary instinct and suggestion he discerned the Messengers approaching towards him : and by the same Prophetick Inspiration he discerned, that *Foram* repented him of his rash and bloody Command, so that, the shutting the Door to prevent the Execution of the King's Command, was to fulfil the King's Will as well as to preserve his own Life and therefore adds as a Reason, why he would have them shut the Door, and hold the Messenger fast at the Door ; for, is not (saith he) the sound of his Masters feet behind him ? That is, is not the King himself following him close at his heels to revoke his cruel Command : and what was done by extraordinary Inspiration, is to be no rule for ordinary Practice. Moreover, there is a vast difference betwixt the Resistance of a particular Act arising from a Princes passionate Rashness, and Resistance of a deliberate Act exercised from his Office juridically circumstanced : the former may proceed from Love and Loyalty, e. g. when a Subject shall interpose to withhold his Princes hands from murdering himself or another, or a Woman to defend and preserve her self from ravishment, &c. but to resist him in a particular unjust Act, by such a Force and Violence as implies a nullity in his Regal Power, and is inconsistent with a State of Subjection, is utterly forbidden by God : though *Abab* murdered *Naboth*, and took possession of his Vineyard with the highest Abuse of Justice in the World, yet that was not a nullifying of his Regal Authority, and could not warrant his Subjects to take Arms against him to revenge it : So every illegal Sentence of Death executed on any Subject in *England*, is a Murder committed, and so would the King's slaying of an innocent Subject by his own immediate hand, and yet no resistance is to be made in such a Case, because God hath expressly forbid it, and the publick Peace and Safety is to be preferred before the Preservation of a particular Person, and the Reparation of a private Injury.

4. The Being of Government in our consideration is carefully to be distinguished from the well-being thereof ; and the principal Ends thereof from the Subordinate ; or, that which is of necessity required to the common good, from that which is necessary for the good of particular Persons, and some particular sorts of Men : and likewise we are carefully to distinguish betwixt that Administration of Government, which is only destructive in some particular Act, or Acts from that which is in the main habituated bent and drift of it, destructive to the Being and principal Ends of Government : So long as the Being and principal Ends of the established Government are maintain'd and secured, and the publick and common Good and Welfare regarded and promoted, and the habitual, main and stated design and endeavour of the Higher Powers is directed and applied for the Protection and Benefit of the Community, they do not disclaim nor renounce the Government, nor set themselves to overthrow the Constitution, and therefore cannot be resisted without the Danger of Damnation.

Self. 109. Another Objection is this ; Suppose a King by Bargain and Sale, or from meer will and pleasure, or any other means, really alienate, transfer, deliver up, and subject his Kingdom to a Stranger, or any other who cannot have a successive Right to it by his desertion or abdication of the Government, may he not in such a Case be resisted ?

Ans. Although such an Act of Surrender and Alienation would be in its self null, because an Act done against the common Right and Interest of the Community, and in its self inauthoritative ; yet being a manifest Protestation, that such a Prince refuseth to govern his Subjects, he exauctorates himself by it ; for no Man can be a Governour who refuseth to govern ; And by alienating of his Kingdom, he ipso facto, dethrones and enslaves himself ; and being degraded to the Condition of a private Man, and a resistance of him, is no resistance of the Sovereign Power : And, although such reasoning Suppositions, as are contain'd in these two last Objections suppose nothing in being, but something only in possibility, and are rather to be reckoned among Imaginations which Subjects may have, than Actions which Princes do, yet seditious-minded Men from Suppositions of possible innovating Designs and secret Leagues, insinuate and impress on the Subjects Minds such suspicions of their Princes as

sect. 110. Thus I have finished what I designed for the Vindication of my Doctrine, from the Objections ordinarily made against it: And here I cannot but with great regret and lamentation observe to you, that some among us, who should preach the Doctrine of bearing the Cross patiently in case of persecution from the Higher Powers, seem to endeavour to persuade Subjects to a Submission to them no longer, then they are too weak for resistance. I know they will take this for a Slander, because they are for resistance only when the Persecution is without and against Law: But I look on this as a ridiculous Evasion; for the Higher Powers have no more Authority to make and execute persecuting Laws, than they have to persecute without and against Laws. I am sure, they are under stronger Obligations to regulate their Government by the Laws of God and Nature, than by the positive Laws of their Country; and if the Supremacy of their Power will exempt from resistance, notwithstanding their governing Administrations be a Violation of the former, 'twill do so too if violations of the latter also, because God that restrains from resistance, in the former Case, doth not allow or permit it in the latter; for most assuredly, God is as much for the Observation of the Laws of his own making as he is for the Observation of any Laws of Mens making, and will have us much more tenderly to resent a Defiance to the Authority of his Laws than a Defiance to the Authority of human Laws, because of a wiser and more righteous Contrivance, and more excellent and useful in order to our Safety and Happiness.

sect. 111. If we must not resist the Higher Powers, then we must submit to them and obey them: They misunderstand the Apostle Paul (saith Mr. Baxter) that think by the *ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος*, is meant only violent Resisters: meer Disobedience may make a Man a Resister in the Apostles Sense; it is Anti-subjection, or breaking out of the Rank of Subjects, which the Text forbids; and he that unwarrantably disobeyeth may do that, though he forcibly resist not: And in truth, that Supremacy of Power which God hath ordained to be inherent in some above others, will be vain to the Purposes of Government, if it be not owned and acknowledged in a practical Submission and active Obedience. Passive Obedience, or a quiet Submission to a Penalty inflicted, supposeth the Failure of Active Obedience either really due or challenged as due; and ever implieth a Faultiness in the Sufferer or in the Inflicter thereof; an offending Subject or a persecuting Magistrate: and is never undergone by an innocent Man, but when the Sovereign cannot be obeyed unless God be dishonoured; and then only is properly denominated Obedience in a divine Construction, when the Penalty suffered is not deserved, and the divine Authority is preferred before the abused Authority of Man: The primary End of all Laws is for the Regulation of our Actions and Manners either to restrain us from disorders and doing what is evil, or to direct us to promote and do what is good; and therefore the Law cannot be satisfied and fulfilled without an active Compliance and Obedience: The Sanction of Laws with the Threatnings of Penalties is but a subordinate Means to this end, and the Law-giver is then best pleased when the Fear thereof prevents the hurt as he intended it should do. To conceit that we have discharged our Duties to our Superiors, because we have peaceably submitted our selves to those Penalties are allotted to the Transgressors of their Laws, is to think that Devils and damned Spirits, who are despisers of God's Laws, do perform their Duties to God, because they suffer for their offences according to their deserts: We cannot therefore approve our selves to God or Man, without an active Obedience to the Higher Powers in all things, which their Authority warrants them to require from us.

The Church of England's Doctrine of Non-Resistance, Justified and Vindicated, &c.

Rom. 13. 2. — *And they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.*

THE next Doctrine to be discoursed, is as plainly expressed as the former is implied in the Text, and 'tis this, *They that resist the Higher Powers bring themselves under the Guilt of eternal Damnation.* As they that obey the Gospel Precepts shall be saved, Heb. 5. 9. So they that disobey them shall be damned, 2 Thes. 1. 8, 9. Now as the Evangelical Doctrine exacts Subjection to the Higher Powers, so it forbids Resistance; and therefore, all rebellious Resisters of them deserve to be damned, and without repentance shall eventually and actually be damned.

Sett. 112. Some Men have labour'd hard to restrain the Word [*Κεῖμα*] translated [Damnation] to a temporal Mulet or Punishment from the Magistrate only, as if Resistance were only a dangerous Incentive to the Magistrate, and no hazardous provocation to God at all. By their Doctrine, if a Rebel be strong enough he is safe enough: Or if he escape apprehension and legal execution by flight, or any other way of prevention, he may bless himself in Peace: If the Terrors of the Magistrate seize him not, the Terrors of the Lord shall not reach him: but if resistance of the Higher Powers be a Resistance of the Ordinance of God, and a Contempt of the Authority of God as well as of Man, why should not God be offended as well as the Magistrate, and the Offender stand guilty of Damnation before the Tribunal of God, as well as before the Tribunal of Man? 'Tis not often, that Rebellions are prosperous and successful and therefore the Church of England exhorts us in her Sermon against willful Rebellion in Part the Fourth, saying, *Turn over and read the Histories of all Nations, look over the Chronicles of our own Country, call to mind so many Rebellions of old time, and some yet fresh in memory, ye shall not find, that God ever prospered any Rebellion against their natural and lawful Prince, but contrariwise, that the Rebels were overthrown, and slain, and such as were taken prisoners dreadfully executed; which is seconded by that Oracle of our Laws, Sir Edw. Coke, Lord Chief Justice in the 3d. p. of his Institutes, in his Expos. of the Stat. of 25 Ed. 3. Peruse over all our Books, Records and Histories, and you shall find a Principle in Law, a Rule in Reason, and a Trial in Experience, that Treason doth ever produce fatal and final destruction to the Offender, and never attaineth to the desired End (two Incidents inseparable thereunto) and therefore let all Men abandon it, as the most poisonous Bait of the Devil of Hell, and follow the Precept in Holy Scripture, Fear God, Honour the King, and have no Company with the Seditious, or as we translate it, Meddle not with them that are given to change, Prov. 24. 21.*

Sett. 113. But suppose the Rebellion be prosperous and successful, that the Rebels be Victors, and instead of being drawn to the deserved Gibbet, they usurp the Throne, and arraign the Sovereign Powers as Criminals before their Tribunal, and pronounce and execute that ugly Sentence on them they themselves have merited, will they be as free from guilt before God as they will presume themselves secured from the Vengeance of Man? No surely, they are hainous Sinners against God, and shall be punished with an everlasting destruction from the Presence of the Lord, for resisting the Powers ordained by him: and this is the Apostolical Doctrine professed by the Church of England, who thus concludes the first Part of her Homily, or Sermon of Obedience to Rulers, with reference to my Text. *Here let us learn of St. Paul, the chosen Vessel of God, that all Persons having Souls (be excepted none, nor exempted none, neither Priest, Apostle, nor Prophet saith St. Chrysostome) do owe bounden Duty and even in Conscience, Obedience, Submission and Subjection to the Higher Powers which be set in Authority by God, forasmuch as they be God's Lieutenants, God's Presidents, God's Officers, God's Commissioners, God's Judges, ordain'd of God himself, of whom only they have all their Power and all their Authority: and the same St. Paul threatneth no less pain than everlasting damnation to all disobedient Persons, against all Resisters against this general and common Authority, forasmuch as they resist not Man but God, not Man's Device and Invention, but God's Wisdom, God's Order, Power and Authority.*

Sett. 114. That this truth may the more evidently appear, I will represent unto you.

1. The Sinfulness of resisting the Higher Powers with armed Force.
2. The Grounds upon which the Decree and Ordination of God, to condemn rebellious Resisters to an everlasting destruction is founded.

1. That the Sinfulness of Rebellious Resistance against the Higher Powers may the more evidently appear, it shall be considered both more generally as 'tis directly opposed to Subjection, and more particularly as it includes those vils which are necessarily antecedent and dispositive to it, concomitants with it, effects and consequential attendants of it.

Señ. 115. 1. We will consider the sinfulness of a *Rebellious Resisting* of the higher Powers more generally, as 'tis directly opposed in the Text to Subjection in the former Verse. As Subjection is a Practical acknowledgment of our Allegiance and bounden Duty to the higher Powers, so a violent Resistance of them is a practical disclaiming and renouncing of Submission and Obedience to them; and consequently a Defiance made to that Power which is God's Ordinance, and a contemning of the Authority of God himself. *Apostolus cujusque est ut quisq; every ones Officer is himself*, say the Jews. Disobedience to the Authority and Resistance against the Person of the Sovereign Ruler or those Commissioned by him, who are God's Ministers and Deputy Gods, is Disobedience and Resistance against God himself. And accordingly *Moses* told *Korah* and his Confederates, who associated themselves in opposition to *Aaron* as an Usurper that encroached on the Rights, Liberties and Priviledges of the Lord's People, *that he and all his Company were gathered together against the Lord*, Numb. 16. 11. their Conspiracy and Rebellion against the Lord's Officer was against the Lord himself, because he acted not in his own name and upon his own account, but in God's name and for God's service. And elsewhere told them, that when they murmured against him and *Aaron*, *your murmurings are not against us (i.e. only) but against the Lord*, Ex. 16. 8. i.e. principally and especially. So God himself said to *Samuel*, when the People stubbornly resolved upon another manner of Government, than that he had exercised over them as to the external Pomp, Grandeur and Succession thereof, *they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not Reign over them*, 1 Sam. 8. 7. which is also the Case of all Christ's Ministers as Christ himself assured them, Luke 10. 16. *He that beareth you beareth me: and he that despiseth you despiseth me: and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me*. And elsewhere, Jo. 13. 20. *He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me: and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me*. So that, the Officers of God and his Christ are as God and Christ themselves, presentiate or represent them, exercise not their own but their Authority; and therefore the Despisers and Resisters thereof, are Despisers and Resisters of the Persons and Authority of God the Father and Jesus Christ the Son. And as *Moses* said to the Oppugners of *Aaron*, and *what is Aaron?* So say I to the Resisters of the King, and *what is the King?* hath not God said, that Kings are Gods, Psal. 82. 1, 6? And *Reign by him*, Pr. 8. 15. or as our Apostle styles them twice in one Verse after the Text, v. 4. *they are the Ministers of God, his Vice-Roys*, Commissioned to attend his Work continually, and God standeth and ruleth by them and judgeth with them, Psal. 82. 1. He therefore that resisteth and fighteth against the King, resisteth and fighteth against God himself, Acts 5. 39. for the Authority and Power of the King, is the Authority and Power of God himself, and consequently he who rejecteth and deposeth the King, doth constructively reject and depose God himself; because his Authority not only abstractly in its self, but also concretely as inherent in his own Person and executed by him is of God too. For as *there is no Power [or Authority] but of God*: so the Powers [the Persons in Authority] that be, are ordain'd of God, whether they are good or bad.

Señ. 116. 'Tis not therefore strange at all that *Samuel* compares *Rebellion* to the sin of *Witch-craft*, and affirms it to be *such a Stubbornness* [for stubbornness is exegetical of Rebellion] *as is iniquity and Idolatry*, 1 Sam. 15. 23. *Rebellion is as the Sin of Witch-craft, and Stubbornness is as iniquity and Idolatry*. Indeed, the *Rebellion* here spoken of, was a Matter of Disobedience committed immediately against God himself: but yet I conceive very applicable to that committed also immediately against the King, because the Authority of the King and of God himself is the self same thing, and the formal Reason of Subjection to the one and the other the very same, viz. for conscience-sake, that God may be pleased in having his Will fulfilled. Rebellion and Stubbornness against the King are of the like Nature with the Sins of *Witch-craft*, iniquity [or Superstition as some Translate it] and *Idolatry* against God, because they partake of the same Commerce with the Spirit that worketh in the Children of Disobedience, alike averse to Subjection and Obedience to the Institutions and Commands of God, and alike addicted to the vain Imaginations and Reasonings of their own depraved Minds, and alike resolved to fulfil their own Wills in contradiction to the Will of God. And as *Witch-craft*, Superstition and *Idolatry*, ascribe the Honor and Glory that is due to God to another, so a *Rebellious* and *Stubborn* Resistance of the Sovereign Powers, is an usurping and arrogating of that Superiority and Vindicative Authority over the Sovereign Powers which belongs to God alone, the Subjects assuming the Glory of the Divine Authority, and punitive vengeance to themselves; and when Offenders are under the like Guilts, they must expect the like Alotment of Punishment. And accordingly *Vatablus* on the Place thus Paraphraseth it, *Tam grave peccatum est, & tam gravis puniatio ei debetur*. So that, if *Witch-craft*, Superstition and *Idolatry* put Men into a State of Damnation, so doth *Rebellion*. And the Church of England Declares in express Terms, *That eternal Damnation is prepared for all impenitent Rebels in Hell with Satan, the first Founder of Rebellion and grand Captain of all Rebels*. And tells us, *that the Rebels themselves are the very Figures of Fiends and Devils* — and as they be followers of *Lucifers* Rebellion, so shall they be of his Damnation in Hell undoubtedly partakers. In part 3d. of *Serm. against wilful Rebellion*. And in the same Homily affirms, *That all sins possible to be committed against God or Man be contain'd*

contain'd in Rebellion. And how terrible a sin against God and Man Rebellion is, cannot possibly be expressed according to the greatness of it. And what punishment can be too great for so great an Offence?

Self. 117. That the Truth hereof may the more manifestly be discovered, we will consider a Rebellious Resistance of the Sovereign Powers in its Antecedent, Concomitant, and Consequent sinful Evils. From which it will appear, that *Rebellion* is not a singular, or one only Sin, but the whole Puddle and Sink of all Sins, as our Church teacheth us in the Sermon afore-quoted.

1. Let us consider a Rebellious Resistance of the Sovereign Powers in its antecedent dispositive sinful Causes and Preparations, and we shall find it a Stream issuing from a very filthy Fountain, and and of a very hainous Nature, meritorious of an answerable punishment.

Self. 118. 1. A Rebellious Resistance of the Sovereign Power proceeds from a Luciferian pride and presumption, Pr. 13. 10. *Only by pride cometh contention.* Proud and Ambitious Rebels would be above all, and under none. Like Tyre, they set their Hearts as the Heart of God, Ezek. 28. 2. saying with insolent Nineveh, Zep. 2. 15. *I am and there is none beside me.* They conceit themselves so superlatively excellent, that they will own no Superiours or Equals: So much Lords and Masters of themselves, that they are not only sufficient to protect, preserve and defend themselves, but also to cast down and domineer over all that are near them, especially such as are set above them, or would be competitors with them. And what is the State of such proud ones before God? Truly, *he knoweth them afar off*, Ps. 138. 6. *scorneth such scorers*, Pr. 3. 24. *resists and counteracts them*, Jam. 4. 6. and therefore they are sure to have a fall, and that a terrible low one too; *they fall into the Condemnation of the Devil*, 1 Tim. 3. 6.

Self. 119. 2. A Rebellious Resistance of the Sovereign Power proceeds from discontent. Subjects dislike their Rank and Station; they think themselves to be as well accomplished, to be Men of Place, and to make a Figure in the Government, as the best of them all; and 'tis an hard Case that they should be only Creatures of Burden, set in the World to be commanded and controlled, have Freedom of Will without Freedom of Practice, confined to the imperious Impositions of other Mens Wills and Pleasures, who under no consideration intrinsecal to the human Nature are any thing better than themselves. And if the Public Administrations happen to be contrary to their particular humors and private interests, and their Persons fall under any Public Disgrace, their dissatisfaction is heightened, and their condition becomes intolerable to them; and their only Remedy to ease themselves, and have their Wills, is to rise up against the higher Powers, and to contend with them for the Preheminence. And what is this but a Contention with God to have their Wills, in contradistinction to his Will? They will not allow the Lord of all Things to do with his own as he pleaseth; but they will prescribe unto God how and where to place them, and will not be pleased unless God value them, and prefer them according to that rate they set on their own worth and serviceableness. The Lord himself called the Children of Israel, who murmured against Moses and Aaron, *Rebels*, Numb. 16. 41. *comp. with ch. 17. 10.* because their discontent did lead to Rebellion, and end in it. But how doth the Lord take it at mens hands, when they grudge and are not satisfied with their condition? Truly, such Men being conformed to the Image of Satan, they wander up and down under God's Curse, seeking rest and finding none, Ps. 59. 15. and St. Jude reporting the Reasons and manner of Christs Process to execute the last Judgment upon all that are ungodly, v. 15. he numbers the Murmurers (i. e. discontented Persons) in the fore-front of them all, as the Chieftains among all that are ungodly, and marked out for the vengeance of eternal fire, v. 16.

Self. 120. 3. A Rebellious Resistance of the Sovereign Power, proceeds from a Spirit of Envy, Malice, Strife and Contention, Hab. 1. 3. *There are that raise up strife and contention.* Bussie-bodies that love to Fish in troubled Waters. And these are invidious minded Men whose Eyes are evil, because God is good; are grieved, vexed and tormented, because other Men are more at ease and better accommodated and contented than themselves; trouble their own Flesh and rot their very Bones that others excel, and are in any thing their Superiours; and that they may disquiet and disturb others which they think stand in the Way as Obstacles to their Designs, they will engage themselves in the most difficult and hazardous enterprizes, *Envyings, strifes, contentions, factions and seditions*, are solemnly coupled together as near a Kin and springing one from the other, 1 Cor. 3. 3. 2 Cor. 12. 20. Gal. 5. 20. what invidious and quarrelsome spirited Men cannot challenge and obtain by merit, they will endeavour to accomplish by fraud, force and violence. Jam. 4. 1. *from whence come warrings and fightings among ye? Come not they hence, even from your lust which war in your members?* When Men are discomposed and disordered with conflicts within from the Turbulency of their own unruly and domineering Passions and Lusts, have kindled coals in their own bosoms, and are at odds with themselves, cherish the Insurrections and Rebellions of their Passions and Lusts against the Sovereign Powers of Reason and Conscience, then they are disposed to make quarrels, oppositions, disorders and tumults, and confusions in that Community to which they are related. For they which stubbornly resist and reject the Do-

nion Authority and Dictates of their own Reasons, Judgments and Consciences, they will never bear a due reverence and regard to the Dominion, Authority and Edicts of others. 'Tis not evil usages from without so much as evil Principles from within, which make Men make-bates and bontificus. Indeed, the Tyrannies and Oppressions of Princes may occasion, but exorbitant and rancorous Passions and Lusts are the prime efficient Causes of Seditions, Mutinies and Rebellions against the higher Powers. And what is the state of Men thus addicted and exercised? The Apostle tells us, that *Hatred, envyings, variance, strife, Seditions are the manifest Works of the Flesh, and they that do such things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*, Gal. 5. 19, 20, 21.

Sect. 121. 4. A rebellious Resistance of the Sovereign Power proceeds from covetousness. If *Covetousness be the root of all Evil*, 1 Tim. 6. 10. 'Tis the Root of this too. A covetous Man is ever ready to catch what he can, and if he might have his Will, he would have the Possession and Power of all that is. And though the impulses of covetousness are not so loud and clamorous, so raging and furious as the motions of wrathful passions are, yet they are more strong and uncontrollable, and not less cruel and barbarous, as the instances of *Ahab* and *Judas* evince. For covetousness doth not only imply the Engagement of the lower and lighter Part of the Affections, which are eager and violent for a Fit, but also the deliberate and steady-bent of the Will, which is the most imperious and self-determining faculty of the Soul. And therefore *he that will be rich*, runs on his Course without fear or wit, 1 Tim. 6. 19. and cares not what legal Establishments and Foundations he overturns and removes, so he may obtain those Ends, his greedy Appetite fastens on and pursues. 'Tis *gain is his godliness*, and to serve his Interest, he will tread down the Authority of God and Man, like the Mire of the Streets. And how doth God account of such a disposed Man? He reckons him as an *Idolater*, a most horrible and detestable Offender, one that hath not *any inheritance in the Kingdom of Christ and of God*, Eph. 5. 5. Col. 3. 5. Gal. 5. 20, 21.

Sect. 122. 2. Let us consider the sinful and pernicious Evils, which are Concomitants with a rebellious Resistance of the higher Powers, and we shall further discover the hainous and Damnable Nature thereof.

1. Idleness is one Concomitant of a rebellious Resistance. Rebels are some of those *busy-bodies* the Apostle speaks of, 2 Thes. 3. 11. *Who work not at all*, and are mischievous as well as useless. Better in the Earth than on it. For starting out of their proper Place, they are a Burden to it. Rebels are of that sort of Men, of whom *Seneca* complained, who spent their time either *nihil agendo, aut aliud agendo, aut male agendo, in doing nothing at all, or nothing to the purpose of advantage, or nothing but evil*, they never do what they should do. And partaking with the *Sodomites* in their abundance of idleness, Ezek. 16. 49. they deserve to share with them in their measure of wrath and vengeance.

Sect. 123. 2. Neglect of Family duties is another concomitant of a rebellious Resistance. Rebels neither attend for the present, a Provision for the Bodies or Souls of their Wives and Children, or any other who have a dependance on them. And hereby making themselves worse than Infidels, 1 Tim. 5. 8. 'twould be strange if they should not be in a state of Damnation.

Sect. 124. 3. Forsaking the solemn worshipping Assemblies of God's People is another Concomitant of a rebellious Resistance. Rebels assemble themselves in Troops, but not in the House of God. Their Congregations are separations from religious Assemblies. Their exercises interruptions, yea, dissolutions of the holy Congregations of the Faithful. When they meet the Shepherds are divided from their Flocks, and their Flocks scatter'd and perhaps butcher'd, and their Sanctuaries laid waste and made desolate. And when Men, like *Cain*, go out from the Presence of the Lord, wilfully excommunicate themselves from the ordinary and standing means of Salvation, we have no reason to think, that God will by a miraculous Act of Sovereign Grace, deliver them from damnation.

Sect. 125. 4. Hypocrisie is another Concomitant of a rebellious Resistance. Rebels will not seem to be as they are, nor to do as they do: but like the Spies the high Priests and Scribes sent to entrap Christ, *They fame themselves just Men*, Luk. 20. 20. pretend they act by a lawful Authority, in a just and weighty Cause, for a good and necessary End, and have set up their Banner in the Name of the Lord of Hosts, *Psal. 20. 5.* and engaged not themselves herein, till they saw Matters reduced to an undoing extremity, and will use this last Remedy for the redress of public Grievances, without prejudice to the Innocent or injury to any Man, observing all along the direction of St. *John the Baptist*, *Luke 3. 14.* alas! good Men, they are for a Pacification without contending, and if Matters in difference were fairly adjusted, they would put off their Animosities with their Arms. Whereas their hearts are set upon mischief, cover red Inclinations with a pale Face, and under specious Pretences of defending and preserving the public Safety and Welfare, creep into opportunities to hazard and destroy them. And such Hypocrisies are so hateful unto God, that he makes the evil Portion of Hypocrites, the Standard of the severest punishments allotted to Sinners, as if Hell were primarily designed for them, *Mat. 24. 51.* and our Saviour comparing the Priests and Elders to the Son in the Parable

Parable that said, *I go Sir, but went not*, the Emblem of an Hypocrite, tells them, *That Publicans and Harlots go into the Kingdom of God before them*, Mat. 21. 30, 31.

Set. 126. 5. Lying Defamation is another Concomitant of a rebellious Resistance. Rebels ever have, will, and do stretch their Mouths, and shoot their Arrows, even bitter words of detraction and reproach against the higher Powers. Oh! (said *Absolom*, when his Head was filled with seditious and rebellious Projections and Designs) *That I were made Judge in the Land, that every Man that hath any Suit or Cause, might com unto me, and I would do him justice*, 2 Sam. 15. 4. insinuating, that justice was not so faithfully and seasonably, so universally and impartially administered as it might and ought to be, and should be, were it in his Power. A manifest endeavour to undermine the reputation of his Fathers Government, in the Opinion of his Subjects, and to bring his Person into disgrace as one not well affected to justice and the public welfare, and consequently not so fit for Government as himself. Which Copy is transcribed by Rebels in all Times and Ages: they very industriously reproach the Footsteps [The Councils, Measures and Actings] of the Lords anointed, Psa. 98. 51. represent the Designs and Managements of the higher Powers as dangerous, burdensome and useless, partly from a deficiency in their integrity and faithfulness, and partly from their imprudence and carelessness, disabled for the exercise of Rule and Government. Which is an Artifice to expose them to the malevolent jealousies and contempt of their Subjects, the readiest way to undermine and weaken their Authority and Power, and to debase and destroy their Persons. For when they are libelled, traduced, arraigned and sentenced in their Subjects thoughts, affections and judgments, and become despised Persons and Ministers of Government, and have no respect or awe in their Subjects hearts, their hands will easily be engaged against them, to fight them out of the Throne, and to banish them out of all their Dominions. For who will be subject and run hazards to maintain that which he despiseth? And Rebels being ever Men *that carry tales to shed blood*, as the Prophet speaks, *Ezek. 22. 9.* they are not only cursed by God as he is *that slandereth his Neighbour privily*, Deut. 27. 24. but deserve an everlasting confusion for slandering the Powers ordained of God, *Isa. 38. 11.*

Set. 127. 6. Hatred is another Concomitant of a rebellious Resistance. Rebels are Enemies to the higher Powers, and enemies resist and fight to kill and destroy. And *he that hateth his Neighbour in his heart is a Murderer, and ye know no Murderer hath eternal life abiding in him*, 1 Joh. 3. 15. the Seed of eternal Death and of eternal Life, cannot abide in a prevalent Degree in the same Subject, at the same Time. As ill will never speaks well, so it never doth well: but at the same Time it thrusts all love and respect to the higher Powers from Men, it pusheth them forward to despise and destroy 'em, ranks them with *Cain*, mustereth and marcheth them under the Conduct and Command of the great Destroyer, whose name is *Abaddon and Apollyon*, Rev. 9. 11.

Set. 128. 7. Revenge is another Concomitant of a rebellious Resistance. Rebels are not for giving place unto, to withdraw themselves from those provoked against them, and refer the punishment of the injuries done unto them unto God, and to overcome evil with good: but they are for avenging themselves, design and endeavour a wrathful retribution of evil and mischief to the higher Powers, from whom they have felt or fear (at least as they pretend) oppressive and injurious usage. Rebels will revenge evils feared, as well as evils inflicted. They are as impatient under the Belief of a plotted Mischief against them, as of one executed upon them. And indeed, more often rebel and resist to prevent a conceited, contrived Evil, than to remove a real Evil endured: And God having expressly forbidden us to resist Evil, and avenge our selves, because vengeance is his peculiar, a part of distributive Justice which alone belongs to him, and such as are Commissioned by him, *Rom. 12. 9.* and *13. 4.* what a notorious Usurpation is Rebellion upon the Prerogative Royal of God himself, which forceth the Sword out of Gods hand, to turn it against those, into whose hands God himself hath put it for the Conservation of human Societies, and Guardianship of Laws and good Order. And hath not God great vengeance especially for such as take vengeance with a spiteful heart, *Ezek. 25. 15.*

Set. 129. 8. Murder is another Concomitant or (if you will) effect of a rebellious Resistance. So many Men as are slain in a Rebellion, so many Murthers are there committed: For whether Rebels kill or are killed, they are Murtherers: If they kill others, they spill the Blood of the Innocent: If they themselves are killed, they are the efficient meretorious Causes of their own deaths: If they neither kill or are killed, but survive the Rebellion and come off by Victory or Escape, yet they are Murtherers, because the Action they engaged in, had both a natural and moral tendency thereunto: which is a Matter to be well considered by all such as are any way concerned in an unlawful War: And surely, if God will require the Blood of Mens Lives at the hand of every Beast, *Gen. 9. 5.* he will make a strict Inquisition after it, when it is spilt by one of the same Nature with themselves, *Psal. 9. 12.* and without repentance will not pardon it, *2 Kings 24. 4.* but hath threatned that they shall perish by the Sword, *Mat. 26. 52.* and have their part in the Lake which burneth with Fire and Brimstone. *Rev. 21. 8.*

Self. 130. 9. An audacious presumption on the gracious and righteous Providence of God, is another Concomitant of a rebellious Resistance. When Men contend against each other with Force of Arms, and put themselves into a State of War, they appeal from Man to God, and refer the Equity and Justice of the Cause contended for, to his arbitration and umpirage, expecting protection and prosperity, according to the integrity of their hearts and righteousness of their quarrel, *Jos. 22.* 22. wherefore (though Rebels violate and trample on all the Restraints of Nature and the Laws of God and Man, yet) they solemnly appeal unto God, and with stupendious security and boldness, depend on his help and assistance for the Preservation of their Persons and the good success of their Cause. The Prophet tells the *Heads of the House of Jacob, and the Princes of the House of Israel, that they abhorred judgment, and perverted all equity, and built up Zion with Blood, and judged for reward; and yet they leaned upon the Lord, and said, is not the Lord amongst us, and none evil can come upon us, Mic.* 3. 9, 10, 11. thus rebellious fools rage against God and his substitutes, and are confident, *Pr.* 14. 16. presume they shall speed well, though God hath as expressly forbid them to do, what they have engaged themselves to do, as he did the *Israelites* when he said to them, *Deut.* 1. 41. *Go not up, neither fight, for I am not among you,* and like those *Israelites*, they refuse to be convinced of the Evil of their Engagements, and go on presumptuously in their Rebellion, as if God had a great Favour for them, and were obliged to bless them with Success, encouraging themselves herein, by reflecting on those eminent deliverances and victories God vouchsafed to his choicest Servants in his own Cause. Which is a tempting of God with such pride and stoutness of heart (*1st. 9. 9. 2 Pet. 2. 10.*) as incenseth him to such a Degree against them, that his jealousy even smoaks against them for it; so that, *He lays all the Curses that are written in his Book upon them, and will blot out their Names from under Heaven, Deut.* 29. 19, 20. Now a rebellious Resistance being concatenated and mustered with such a Troop of damning Sins, is it not reasonable to believe and affirm, that they which so resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

Self. 131. 3. Let us consider the sinful Evils which are the Effects and consequential Attendants of a rebellious Resistance, and they will further discover the hainous Nature thereof. *St. James* tells us, *That where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work,* ch. 3. 16. and what can be more mischievous and pernicious in its influences and effects, than that which hath for its train and retinue *Confusion and every evil work*? That which puts all out of order, and introduceth nothing but what is done amiss, is evil without a Parallel. The mischievous Effects and Consequences of other Sins are confined to some particular Region, but these diffuse and spread themselves through the Universe, set on Fire the whole Course of Nature, disturb and unsettle both Church and State. That I may the more distinctly and satisfactorily shew you the abominable Effects and Consequences of a rebellious Resistance, I shall reduce them to two general Heads of Things, *viz.* to such as respect Matters of Religion and Piety towards God; and then to such as respect Matters of Civil Government, and the Interests of Human Societies and Individual Persons.

Self. 132. 1. The Effects and Consequences of a rebellious Resistance, are very pernicious and destructive, respectively to Matters of Religion and Piety towards God. 'Tis in its self a plain and open confronting of the Authority and Ordinance of God, and directly repugnant to the Spirit of Christianity, which is a Spirit of love, order, unity, peace, self-denial, humility, meekness, gentleness, clemency, patience, long-sufferance and goodness; and therefore must necessarily weaken and shake off, at least in a very considerable Degree, the awes and restraints of God and Conscience. It makes Men self-willed, and gathers their most exorbitant Passions into a Storm, and their pride, ambition, covetousness, envy, malice, hatred, discontent and all other dependant boisterous Passions, evaporate and break forth like Whirlwinds and Thunderbolts, and shake, if they do not overturn, the very Foundations of Piety and Morality, as well as of Policy and Civility; and renders their Appetites as boisterous and licentious as their Passions, which eagerly and insatiably crave, and pursue things pleasing and agreeable to their humors and imagined Interests, without any regard had to the Measures of Piety, Righteousness, Charity, Sobriety and common Honesty. And when Men are acted and governed by Self-will, Passion, Appetite and unreasonable Interest of what account is Religion? Follow these Men in their Marches, observe them in their Quarters, and attend them in their general Departments, and you shall find their private Devotions few, and their public less. And though sometimes they pretend to fight for Religion, yet in their actual hostile Engagements and Battles, they mind and intend more the Preservation of their Bodies and destruction of their Enemies, than they do the honour of God and salvation of their Souls, as their Consciences will witness against them. When the Government of *Moses* was suspended from the *Israelites*, but for forty days they Carved themselves a Molten Image, and worshipped it as a God, *Ex.* 32. 4, 6. and no sooner was his immediate Successor, *Joshua*, dead, and thereby an exemption from the restraints of Government presumed, but *Micah* and his Mother make them Gods and Priests, *Judg.* 17. 5. and in the

very next Chapter from the same motive and encouragment, the Tribe of *Dan* break into *Micahs* House, and *Fetters'd away the Carved Image, the Ephod and the Teraphim, and the Molten Image, and carried away the Priest too, v. 18.* and what impiety will not Men do when they presume, they may do what they will? This is an experimented Truth, *cui plus licet quam par est, plus velit quam licet, be that may lawfully do more than is fit, he will do more than is lawful,* and 'tis very rare, when Men may do that which is right in their own Eyes, that they do that which is pleasing and acceptable in the sight of God.

Self. 133. 2. The Effects and Consequences of a rebellious Resistance are very pernicious and destructive to Matters of Civil Government, the Interests of human Societies and individual Men. Every Rebel would be more than a King, for he contends to be higher than the highest Powers, countermands their Laws, would correct their Persons, suppress and extirpate their Administrations. And thus the Government is unhinged, and the People are oppressed every one by another, and every one by his Neighbour; the Child will behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honorable, as the Prophet speaks, *Is. 3. 5. and they that were brought up in Scarlet are brought down to embrace Dung-hills, Lamb. 4. 5. and those not meetly qualified to be Servants, assume the Place of Masters, Lamb. 5. 8. Servants have ruled over us: there is none that doth deliver us out of their hand,* was the Complaint of the degraded Elders of *Israel*. Yea, such is the lawless violence of rebellious Assaults, that Mens Children are dashed in pieces before their Eyes, their Houses spoiled, and their Wives ravished, the Women and the Maids, as the Prophet expresseth it, *Is. 13. 16. Lam. 5. 11. and how can it be otherwise, since as the Prophet complains, the Law is no more, Lamb. 2. 9. the restraining Force of the Law from the prevalent Force of Arms is as if it were not. For that which is useless is in effect fenceless. Hence that Proverb inter arma silent leges, the noise of Arms makes the Laws speechless, they cannot speak out and utter themselves to the purposes of Government. And what security can Men have for their Lives, Liberties, Properties and Relatives, when there is no Law to protect them, nor Ruling Power to Guard them? Well therefore might our Saviour say, a Kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, Mat. 12. 25. dissolution ever was, and will be, the issue of Division. How can any Kingdom stand, when Government and Laws which are the Foundation and Subsistence thereof fail?*

Self. 134. Every Man hath an imperious heart, would judge and determine for himself, and is so fondly and partially addicted to himself and his espoused Interests, that if left to himself, he would assume to himself more Rights and Liberties than to come his share; and therefore, if every one who pretends to a Liberty of Thinking should obtain a Liberty of Acting, and do that which is right in his own eyes, without having any Rulers or Laws over him, to restrain and correct him, who could be secured from Wrong and Oppression? such a State of Liberty would render every Man an Enemy to every Man, and in reality a greater Enemy to himself, than to any Man else, because it would ensnare him in licentiousness, and be so far from a State of Liberty, that it would be a State of the greatest Confusion and Servitude in the World. Subjection therefore, under the most corrupt and tyrannical Government, is more tollerable and desirable than freedom in such a State of Anarchy and Confusion: For though the former, like a Tempest, may do considerable mischief here and there in some particular Cases and Instances, the latter, like a Deluge or epidemical Disease, will carry down and destroy all that stand before it. And thus it was determined by *Fronto* the Consul in *Nerva's* Reign, *Melius est sub his esse, sub quibus nihil licet, quam sub quibus omnia, 'tis better to be subject unto them, under whom nothing is lawful, than under them under whom all things are lawful:* That is, the severest Restraints are more eligible than a boundless Liberty; because, 'tis better and safer to be exposed to the danger of suffering than to the danger both of sinning and suffering. So, that a rebellious Resistance breaking down and levelling the Boundaries of Government and Laws, doth, as it were, let Hell loose upon us, hearten and encourage all sorts of licentiousness and wickedness amongst us, and bring us under a kind of present Damnation, and fill us with Confusion and Terror round about. Wherefore, as one said of an ungrateful Man, *Ingratum dixi, omnia dixi, I have called him ungrateful, and so have called him all that is naught:* So say I of a rebellious Man, his guilt is so complicated, that he is compounded of all that is naught.

Self. 135. 3. The next thing to be considered, is the Grounds upon which the Decree and Ordination of God, to condemn rebellious Resisters of the Higher Powers, to an everlasting destruction is founded. O the Depth (saith the Apostle, *Rom. 11. 33, 34.*) both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his Judgments and his ways past finding out! for who hath known the Mind of the Lord, or who hath been his Counsellor? intimating, that it becomes us rather to admire than to enquire into the Reasons of his Purposes, Ways and Actings: For, *He giveth not account* [is not obliged to account] of any of his matters, as *Job* speaks, *Ch. 33. 13.* and therefore, it will be no absurdity to resolve the Reason of the Matter under consideration, principally into the Sovereign Council and Pleasure.

Pleasure of God's Will. So he hath done, even because so it pleased him to do, *Mat. 11. 25.* and this is as firm a Ground as the Mind of Man can rest or acquiesce on : For God alone knows what becomes him to do ; and we may be sure that all his Ordinations and Dispensations are such as well bescem his infinite perfection in Knowledge and Wisdom, Goodness and Righteousness ; and therefore he doth not, will not, cannot, decree or do anything amiss. Wherefore, God having expressly declared, that, *they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation*, we cannot be much concerned by searching to find out the particular Reasons of this divine Constitution.

Seet. 136. But, since God is pleased from his incomprehensible Grace, to condescend to an Appeal sometimes to the Reason of his People, to judge of the Equity of his Dealings, especially in Matters of a Penal Nature, *Isa. 5. 3. Mic. 6. 3.* I shall endeavour to discover to you the particular Reasons of this Decree and Ordination from that Revelation (as I conceive) God him self hath made thereof to us : And they are these,

Seet. 137. 1. Because a rebellious Resistance of the Higher Powers, is a protested Defiance to God's own Order, and a practical Condemnation and Subversion of it : This reason is plainly assigned in the Words immediately precedent to the Text ; *They that resist, resist the Ordinance of God ; and therefore, they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* God that made and preserveth all the World, is essentially the absolute Sovereign Lord thereof, *The great King over all the Earth, Psal. 47. 2. the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, Rev. 17. 14.* He is exalted as Head above all, *2 Chr. 29. 11.* and he as the most High ruler in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, *Dan. 4. 25.* and all Dominions serve and obey him, *Dan. 7. 27.* As his Ministers and Officers, as 'tis, *vers. 4. and 6.* of this Chapter. Wherefore, respectively unto God, Obedience is the Duty and Work of all the World : and as all that Authority and Power with which Men are invested to make and execute Laws is derived from him, and to be administered in his Name, so all that Subjection and Obedience which is exacted as due thereunto, is from the Constitution of *his Will*, *1 Pet. 2. 15.* and to be observed and performed for *his sake*, *vers. 13.* or as our Apostle in *vers. 5.* of this Chapter, for *Conscience sake*, or from a Sense of that Duty we owe to the Sovereign Authority and Dominion of God himself. Let the Ranks and Orders of Men be what they will, Rulers or Ruled, as their several Stations and Conditions are of God's appointment, who will not have all to stand on the like Level, but pulleth down some and setteth up others, will have some to command and others to obey, so their several Duties respectively to each other, as well as to himself are of his prescription and injunction ; and consequently as Rulers cannot abuse their Authority and Power, without violating the Trust committed by God to them, and usurping upon the Authority and Power of God himself, pretending to more than they partake of from him, and have Commission to execute in his Name ; so neither can Subjects refuse Subjection and Obedience due to their Rulers, without a Violation of a Trust from God, and a confronting of his Authority and Power : For the Authority and Power of their Rulers is the Authority and Power of God himself, as hath formerly been proved ; and consequently a striving and contending against the Higher Powers is a fighting against God himself : and they who presumptuously endeavour to destroy and trample on the Authority and Power of their Governours, endeavour to destroy and trample on the Authority and Power of God himself ; and is not this a provoking of God to jealousy ? a Presumption that they are higher and stronger than he, *1 Cor. 10. 22.* and doth such presumption deserve less than a State of Damnation ? 'tis the Duty of all to submit unto God, and to be contented, yea, well pleased with all that he requireth of them or imposeth on them, and therefore it must needs be extremely sinful and provoking to strive and fight against him ; *Isa. 45. 9.* *Who unto him that striveth with his Maker.* For when any man walketh contrary unto God, God will also walk contrary unto him, *Lev. 26. 23. 24.* and when the Contrariety of the Engagement and Action on the Sinners part is attended with the Perverseness and Obstinacy of a rebellious Resistance, the contrariety on God's part will be in fury, *vers. 28.* i. e. a contrariety to the utter Destruction of the Rebel, the fullest and completest Punishment.

Seet. 138. 2. Because a rebellious Resistance of the Higher Powers is a Sin of deliberate Choice, inveterate Passion, strong and confirmed Resolution, a Conscience wasting Sin, or in *Tertullian's* Words, *Crimen Devoratorium Salutis, a Sin that devours Salvation* ; that destroys all right to it, hope of it, and fitness for it. *The Despisers of Government, who are not afraid to speak evil of Dignities* (and then by a Parity of Reason, Rebellious Resisters of them too) are of the Number of those presumptuous and self-willed unjust Ones, who are chiefly reserved unto the Day of Judgment to be punished, *2 Pet. 2. 9, 10.* and those addicted to Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Murders, Envyings and such like manifest Works of the Flesh (which is evidently the Case of Rebels) shall not inherit the Kingdom of God, *Gal. 5. 19, 20, 21.* Rebellious Resisters are Criminals, which imagine mischief upon their Beds, set themselves in a way that is not good, and do not abhor evil, as the Psalmist speaketh, *Psal. 36. 4.* they conceive and plot the Matter, betake themselves to Consultations and De-

lates concerning it, weigh Circumstances and fore-cast Events, contrive the most convenient Method of executing it, and their Hearts are fully bent and set on it, they resolutely determine to bring it to the Birth, and to give it to their Power its utmost perfection by the actual Perpetration of it, and most indulgent adherence to it; and if such a Scene of wickedness doth not infer a damnable Guilt, what can? 'Tis not a thing done from a Child-like weakness of Ignorance, Inadvertency, Surprise, and suddain Surreption, but from the Strength of a Man, from the serious Proposal, Consideration, Reason, Judgment, and Attention of the Mind, the settled Choice and Determination of the Will, the Audacity and Stoutness of the Heart, and the Vigor and Activity of the Affections, which is a Temper and Deportment of Spirit, utterly inconsistent with Repentance towards God, and Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; and consequently the Predominancy of it denominates the Subjects thereof in a State of Damnation.

Sett. 139. 1. *Infer.* Then by the Rule of Contraries. A due Subjection to the Higher Powers, is an Argument of a State of Salvation; as a State of Disobedience and Resistance to the Higher Powers is a State of Disobedience and Resistance to the Spirit and Purport of the Gospel, so a State of Subjection and Obedience to the Higher Powers is a State of Subjection and Obedience to the Spirit and Purport of the Gospel, and that is a State of Acceptation with God and Salvation by Jesus Christ. I do not mean, that all that do not habitually or actually in a rebellious Manner resist the Higher Powers, are in a State of Salvation; but I mean, all that are obedientially subject to them are so, *i. e.* that conscientiously honour their Persons as the Ministers of God, and submit to their Government in a constant Course of Obedience to their Laws and Administrations so far as they are for the publick Good for God's sake, and with cheerfulness and thankfulness according to the Will and Constitution of God, pay tribute to them as their due for that Protection and Safety under God, they partake of from them: For as love is the fulfilling of the Law, *Rom.* 13. 10. so is Subjection to the Higher Powers in a right qualified Sense too; for there being but one Authority in the World, *viz.* Gods, he that sincerely submits to his Authority, *as such* in one thing is habitually principled and disposed to do so in every thing; the Reason of his Obligation is of an universal extent and force, and equally engageth him to every signification thereof; and therefore, if he willingly submit himself in one thing, he will do so in every thing. *Aqua tenus ad omne valet consequentia:* As, *he that offendeth in one point of the Law is guilty of all*, *Jam.* 2. 10. Offenderh against the same Authority, which enacted and ratified all the rest; though the Violation of one is not formally and expressly a Violation of all the Law, yet 'tis virtually and reductively so, because it reflects Contempt on the Authority of God, upon which the obliging Force of the whole Law depends; and is an affronting of the Sovereignty, Wisdom, and righteousness of God manifested in all the rest, these attributes of his being as much concerned in the Establishment of the one as of all the rest: So, he that is really subject unto, and observeth rightly one of God's Laws, Ordinances and Institutions *as such*, hath respect thereunto for the sake of the divine Authority therein expressed, and makes the fulfilling of the Will of God, the prime Motive and Reason of his Obedience, he hath virtually and reductively submitted unto, and observed all the rest; because the same Motive and Reason, which determines and governs his respect to the One, is of equal Obligation, Power and Influence to determine and govern his respect to all the rest: When a sincere respect to the Sovereign Authority of God, hath a predominant Power and Dominion in a Man's Mind and Heart, it bringeth him to God's Foot, disposeth him to devote and resign himself to the Will of God in all things, *seeketh not his own will, but the will of God*, as Christ did, *Joh.* 5. 30. saying with him, *not my will, but thy will be done*, *Luk.* 22. 42. and *not as I will, but as thou wilt*, *Mat.* 26. 39. and *not that I will, but what thou wilt*, *Mark* 6. 36. and with *St. Paul*, *what wilt thou have me to do*, *Acts* 9. 6. *i. e.* He is readily prepared to fulfil all God's Wills, throughly furnished to walk before God unto all pleasing, and to be fruitful in every good Word and Work. Wherefore he that sincerely honours the King for God's sake, and as *his Minister*, he sincerely fears God, because the one is necessarily founded and implied in the other; and God hath so concatenated them unto, and complicated them in, each other, that they are no more seperable from one another, than Light from Sun beams.

Sett. 140. 2. *Infer.* Then they who engage themselves in a rebellious Resistance of the Higher Powers, run a desperate Hazard; they are very near the Condemnation of the Devil himself; they put their Lives in their hands, and are in Death's often: and if they dye in actual commission of this Sin, they pass into the other World, under the actual Guilt thereof, and there will be judged and confined to a Condition as unalterably miserable as the Devils of Hell are in; as they could not repent of it before they died, because they died in the actual Commission of it, so neither can they repent of it after they are dead, because there is no such work to be done in the other World. If the Work God hath given us to do in order to a blessed Immortality, be not finished in this life, there is nothing to be done in order to it in the next: *There every one must receive the Things done*

in his Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad, 2 Cor. 5. 10. the final Sentence refers not to any thing done after the separation of the Soul from the Body, but to what was done in the Body only: for, the Life to come is the proper State of Rewards and Punishments, and not of probation and trial. He therefore that dyes impenitently dies unpardonably.

Self. 141. And this is not only the Case of Rebels who are cut off in the very Act of Rebellion, but of all other wilful Sinners, who dye in the actual Commission of Sin: their unrepented guilt passeth with them into the other World, and there everlastingly abides upon them, and renders their Condition desperate; so that, the Case of all impenitent sinners becomes by death immutable; for he that departs this Life dead in Trespasses and Sins, or is in his Soul dead towards God, as every one is that dies under the Power and Dominion of Sin, he is translated into that State of Sin and Misery, from which there is no redemption, because the Justice of God hath actually seized him, and executed the irrevocable Sentence of the Law upon him: The Day of Grace and Life expire together, *Psal.* 95. 8. when Death comes, Judgment immediately follows, *Heb.* 9. 27. and then the State of the Sinner is unchangeable: He shall never return to another life of trial, and have means afresh to bring him to repentance, and to correct the Errors and Miscarriages of his former life; but, *in the place where the Tree falleth there it shall be*, *Eccles.* 11. 3. as his Condition was, when Death cut him down, so it shall be without alteration to all Eternity.

Self. 142. How warily and circumspectly then should we carry it in our Deportments in all manner of Conversation? we may dye in the Commission of the next voluntary Act of Sin, or in the wilful Omission of the next Duty, and so put our selves beyond the possibility of Repentance; and, shall we be so mad as to put it to the adventure, whether it will be so or no? Wherefore, all that put themselves into a State of War, are especially obliged to consider well what they do, and to be well assured, that they never engage themselves in battle against the Higher Powers, to whom they owe Subjection, lest they fall by the Edge of the Sword, render their Sin unpardonable, and themselves for ever incapable of a Title to heavenly Felicity and Glory.

Self. 143. Repentance towards God, and Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are the great Gospel-terms of the Remission of our Sins and the Salvation of our Souls, *Acts* 20. 21. and *Ch.* 2. 38. *Mark* 16. 16. and these are confined and limited only to this World, and are not at all performable in the next: Wherefore if we sin when there is no place for the Interposition and Exercise of these Graces, which are peculiar to this present life, our Condition will be irremediably miserable; final and wilful Impenitency and Infidelity is the grossest Self-murder: And he that dies a wilful Rebel, dies in the damned State of the Devil.

F I N I S.
